THE worthy Author of this Narrative (of whoſe Fidelity we are well aſſured) by his great pains and induſtry, in collecting and compiling the ſeveral Occurrences of this Indian-War, from the Relations of ſuch as were preſent in the particular Actions, hath faithfully and truly performed the ſame, as far as beſt information agreeing could be obtained, which is therefore judged meet for publick view; and we whoſe Names are underwritten, deputed by the Governour and Council of the Maſſachuſets Colony to peruſe and licence the ſame; have and do accordingly Order it to be imprinted, as being of publick benefit, and judg the Author to have deſerved due acknowledgment and Thanks for the ſame.

Boſton, March 29. 1677.

Simon Bradſtreet.
Daniel Deniſon.
Joſeph Dudley.

Licenſed,

June 27, 1677.

Roger L'Eſtrange.

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THE Present State OF New-England.

BEING A

NARRATIVE

Of the Troubles with the

INDIANS

IN

NEW-ENGLAND, from the first planting thereof in the year 1607, to this present year 1677: But chiefly of the late Troubles in the two last years 1675, and 1676.

To which is added a Discourse about the War with the *PEQUODS* in the year 1637.

By *W. Hubbard* Minister of *Ipswich*.

And the Lord said unto Moses, Write this for a Memorial in a Book, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua; for I will utterly put out the Remembrance of Amalek from under heaven, Exod. 17. 14.

LONDON:
Printed for *Tho. Parkhurst* at the *Bible* and Three *Crowns* in *Cheapside*, near *Mercers-Chappel*, and at the *Bible* on *London-Bridg*. 1677.

To the Honourable JOHN LEVERET *Esq; Governour of the Colony of the* Massachusets; JOSIAH WINSLOW *Esq; Governour of the Colony of* Plimouth; WILLIAM LEET *Esq; Governour of the Colony of* Connecticut.

NOtwithstanding the great and unvaluable good that hath in all ages of the World accrued to Mankind by Order and Government; yet such is the depravedness of mans nature, and imperfection of his knowledg, that it is as well hard to find out, as difficult to maintain such a Form and Order of Government as will prove a sufficient Fence and security for so great a treasure as is the common good, and publick safety. After the sad and long experience of former times, some have thought no means can be found out so effectual for the upholding and preserving the same, with all the sacred and civil rights and priviledges thereunto belonging, as a liberty in this Case for people to design and chuse out from among themselves, the persons that are to be intrusted with those great concerns. Whatever may be said for the extolling the happiness of them that have such an advantage in their hands, all that may be comprehended within the compass of such a power, it is for the present in the principal and leading part thereof devolved upon your selves in all the three Colonies of *New-England*, who by the choice of the free people in those your several Jurisdictions, are now called to act your several parts as chief on the publick stage of Government. Ever since you have taken your turns at the helm, there have been very boisterous winds and rough Seas, threatning Shipwrack of all; which notwithstanding,

standing, you need not be discouraged, while due consideration is had, to whom, and what you have embarqued with you. When once the great *Roman Conqueror*, and chief Founder of their Monarchy, was passing the *Adriatick Sea* in a disguise, the Pilot being dismayed with the fiercenes of the wind, the raging of the waves, his Passenger pulled off his disguise, and bid him be of good courage and not fear, for he carried *Cæsar*, and all his Fortunes: Surely *Jesus Christ* and all his promises, in which you are not a little concerned, is a far better ground of comfort and encouragement in a stormy season. *Luther* was wont to say, or did once in a great exigent say, that he had rather *Knock cum Christo quam stare cum Cæsare*; accounting Christ a better friend, though failing as to the World, to trust to, than *Cæsar* standing in power, according to the word of Christ himself, *greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the World*: So as all such may say with the Prophet, *Rejoyce not against us, O mine enemy, for when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a Light unto me*; which I trust your selves have had so much experience of, in these late dark Dispensations, that if sometimes you have not seen, yet always you have believed that *Light was sown for the Righteous*, and that there shall be a clear breaking forth of the Sun, after the Tempest is over: what God hath planted, shall not by man, or any of Satans Instruments be plucked up. It is with young Colonies, as it is with Trees newly planted: Which those winds as one saith, that are not so boisterous as to blow down, do so far advantage as to shake them to a greater fastnes at the Root. The Soveraign Ruler of the World doth usually by such ways and means bring about his peoples good, at the first, not well understood, nor easily brooked, till the quiet fruit of righteousnes be discerned to spring up unto all such as are exercised therein. It hath been no small advantage that the staff of Government, and the shields of this part of the Earth were put into your hands (before the Boar out of the Wood hath broke into this Vineyard) who under God, we trust may be found the Repairers of the Breach, and the Restorers of Paths to dwell in, while both your selves, and those under your charge and conduct, are looking unto him, who is promised to be the peace of his people, when the *Assyrian* shall come into their Land.

The consideration of the power wherewith you are invested, together with the great Wisdom, Faithfulnes and Courage by which it hath been managed by you, in your several stations, hath induced me to desire that the Historical discourse ensuing might pass into publick view under the umbrage of your Protection. If a reason be demanded for the choice

sing so many names of worth to the patronage of so small and inconsiderable a Volume; I need no other Apology at this time, than I find in the words of the Wise Man; there are cases wherein *two are better than one, and a three-fold cord is not easily broken*: For it being like to pass through your several Jurisdictions, I conceived it might need a passport of safe conduct from him that doth preside in either of them. It carries nothing with it but truth (as I hope will be found) which may well expect to meet with a ready welcom, and suitable entertainment in every honest mind; but all men are not so equally balanced in their affections as to bear with plain dealing, and give that harmless Dove a resting-place in their minds for the sole of her foot. Of all Writings, those that are historical, specially while the things mentioned are fresh in memory, and the actors themselves surviving, had need be pursued with a wary pace. Notwithstanding the great care that hath been taken to give all and every one, any way concerned in the subject of the Discourse, their just due, and nothing more or less, yet perhaps some critical Reader will not let every sentence pass without some censure or other. It was once by a great man accounted no small offence in an harmless Poet, that some of his titles were misplaced as they were marshalled up in their order: If any Historian should commit an error parallel thereunto, a pardon, as it may be needed, in such a Script as is the present *Narrative*, so may it be the better expected, while passing up and down under the guard of your Authority, yea though it should chance to be an offence of an higher nature; as the mistiming of some passages, mistaking the distance of some places, or too often touching upon the same particulars, which could not be well avoided in a Collection of so many Occurrents too hastily drawn up, though true; yet unseasonably, or out of due time coming to light, without a total omission of some material passages. It was intended at the first only as a private Essay, wherein to bind up together the most memorable passages of divine Providence, during our late, or former troubles with the *Indians*; it might have remained in the place where it was first conceived and formed, or been smuthered as an imperfect Embrio, not worthy to see the light, if some such as your selves had not both quickned the being, and hastned the birth thereof. Something of this nature may be of use to Posterity, as well as to those of the present Generation, to help them both to call to their mind, and carry along the memory of such eminent deliverances, and special preservations granted by divine favour to the people here; as it was of old commanded of God himself, that a Register should be kept of those Wars, which in opposition to others, were in a peculiar

manner to be called The Wars of the Lord; and such as these here treated of, if any, since miraculous deliverances have ceased, may truly be said to deserve that title. If it had fallen into some abler hand, it might have been set forth with better choice of words, and more fit expressions, that might have left a deeper impression on the minds of those who are most concerned to retain it; however it being now like to be brought to publick view, I have presumed to offer it to your selves, as on the accounts forementioned, so also as a testimony of my thankful and deserved acknowledgment of that Wisdom and integrity abundantly shewn forth in the administration of your Authority.

Much Honoured and Honourable, I have nothing more to add, but the engagement of my continual and daily prayers to the God of the Spirits of all flesh, that he would carry you through all troubles, difficulties and trials you may be conflicting with, whether personal or political; and that he would bless your Councels at home; prosper your enterprizes abroad, and long continue your lives in the present Generation, for his own Glory and his peoples good; that after you have served your Generation here, your memory like that of the just, may be blessed, and that you may leave peace as the Inheritance of the remaining Israel of God in these ends of the Earth: which is, and shall be the earnest wish, and constant desire of,

From my Study,
16th, 12. 1676.

Your most humble and
Devoted Servant,

William Hubbard.

An

READER.

THE following historical Essay, was, when first drawn up, intended only for the satisfaction of a private Friend, and not for the use of the publick; therefore hope I may be excused, if I fall short therein of that exactness, which might be expected from one that designedly undertook a Work of this nature: however trusting more to the judgment of some who have accidentally had the perusal thereof, than mine own, I am not unwilling that others should receive benefit thereby. The Compiler of an History can challenge little to himself but methodizing the work, the materials being found ready to his hand: diligence in gathering them together, and faithfulness in improving them, is all that is upon point required of him; in both which I have endeavoured to make good what the profession I have now taken up obliges me unto. The matter of fact therein related (being rather Massacres, barbarous inhumane outrages, than acts of Hostility, or valiant atchievements) no more deserve the name of a War, than the report of them the title of an History; therefore I contented my self with a Narrative. Much of what is therein mentioned, depending on the single authority of particular persons, an exact description of every occurrent was hardly to be obtained: All Soldiers are not like Cæsar, able to describe with their pens, what they have done with their Swords: But the most material passages inserted, were either gathered out of the Letters, or taken from the mouths of such as were eye or ear-witnesses of the things themselves; and those also persons worthy of credit. In such passages as were variously reported by the Actors, or Spectators, that which seemed most probable is only inserted. If any errour be committed about the Scituation or distance of places, it may deserve an excuse rather than a censure: For our Soldiers in the pursuit of their Enemies being drawn into many desert places, inaccessible Woods, and unknown Paths, which no Geographers hand ever measured, scarce any Vultures eye had ever seen, there was a necessity to take up many things in reference thereunto upon no better credit sometimes than common Report. One or two passages need a more particular excuse, or at least explication: As where it is said, p. 2, That the first Colony was sent hither *Anno* 1606, The mistake is easily helped, by minding the Reader that the Patent or Commission was that year granted, when also Capt. Henry Challons was sent over upon some further discovery of the Country, before the Adventurers would

would hazard a greater charge: soon after the departure of the said Challons, the same year Sir John Popham, one of the principal Undertakers, sent out another ship to second him under the Command of Capt. Haman, Martin Prin of Bristow being Master, who not finding Challons (for he miscarried in his design, being seized by some Strangers in the way) yet returning with good news, the next year they sent out two ships with an hundred men, with Ordnance and other Provision, under the conduct of Capt. George Popham, and Capt. Rawley Gilbert, who built a Fort in some place about Saga-de-hoch, called St. Georges Fort, the ruines of which are remaining to this day, as some say. Probably other like mistakes may be observed, in describing the bounds and dimensions of some of the Patents, and grants of land belonging to the other Colonies; but an Historian being no Pretorian Judg, his report cannot prejudice any peoples Jurisdiction, or persons propriety.

Further also, where it is said, p. 7, That the *Indians* had lived peaceably with the English here near forty years, ever since the *Pequod* War; it is to be understood with reference to publick acts of Hostility; for particular mischiefs have been committed by several Indians in some parts of the Country, but the actors were not abetted therein by any of their Country men: As at Nantucket, an Island to the Eastward of Cape Cod, where in the end of the year 1664, some villanous Indians murthered some that suffered shipwreck upon that Island, yet justice was done upon two or three of the chief actors. In like manner within a few years after the Pequod Wars, Mrs. Hutchinson was killed by the Indians near a Dutch Plantation; about which time some other insolencies of like nature were acted by the Indians Southward, either upon Long-Island, or in some place within New-haven Colony. Also a murther was committed at Farmington, another at Woburn, by some Indians in their drunken humors, upon a maid servant or two, who denied them drink. All which hinder not the truth of what is affirmed in the Narrative, such murthers being too frequently committed in the most peaceable places in the World. Such errors as are the forementioned, being overlooked by the Candid Reader, it is presumed, there will not be many other faults to be complained of, unless such as are meerly Typographical; or else were occasioned by the dropping in of particular passages, after the whole was drawn up, which I was willing to insert, although it occasioned the discourse in some places, to be a little more confused than else would have been. If ever the matter require another Edition, more accurateness may be observed. If those into whose hands these shall happen to come, find any satisfaction about the Occurrents that have here fallen out, the Publisher shall account his pains well bestowed.

To

To the Reverend Mr. William Hubbard, on his most exact History of New-Englands *Troubles.*

WHen thy rare Piece unto my view once came
It made my Muſe that erſt did ſmoke, to flame:
Raiſing my Fancy ſo ſublime, that I
That famous forked Mountain did eſpy;
Thence in an Extaſie I ſoftly fell
Down near unto the *Helliconian* Well;
Where Poetry, in Proſe, made I did ſee
By a *Mercurian* Brain, which ſure was Thee;
Such is thy modeſt Stile, enrich'd with Sence,
Invention fine, faced with Eloquence:
Thy florid Language quaintly doth expreſs
The Truth of matter in a comely dreſs;
Couching the Sence in ſuch a pleaſing Strain
As makes the Readers Heart to leap again:
And ſweetly draws him like thoſe Lotteries
Which never miſs but always win the Prize.
But whither roves my Muſe? What can be done
By'm that augments the Sea, or lights the Sun?
Go on brave Worthy, and let theſe Eſſaies,
Like fair *Aurora* uſher in the Raies
Of a Refulgent Sun ariſing clear,
Hence to illuminate our Hemiſphere;
That th'after Ages may extol the High-One
For's Loving kindneſs to our little Sion:
And may our Senatours with due regard,
Theſe and thy future labours all reward;

Though

Though not in full, yet such encouragement,
As may in them be just, to thee content;
For th'present Age, and those that shall ensue,
Will be perpetual Debtors unto you.
Fame shall with Honour crown thee; and wee'l raise
Thy lasting Monuments in Groves of Bays.
Heavens bless thee in thy Work, and may success
Attend thee here; hereafter, Happiness.

F. S.

Upon the elaborate Survey of New-Englands *Paſſions from the Natives, By the impartial Pen of that worthy Divine Mr. William Hubbard.*

A Countries Thanks with Garlands ready lye
To wreath the Brows of your Divinity,
Renowned Sir: to Write the Churches War
In ancient times, fell to the Prophets ſhare.
New-Englands Chronicles are to be had
From *Nathans* Pen, or Manuſcript of *Gad.*
Purchaſe wrote much, *Hacluyt* traverſed far,
Smith and *Dutch John de Laet* famous are:
Martyr, with learn'd *Acoſta*, thouſands too,
Here's Novelties and Stile which all out-do,
Wrote by exacter hand than ever took
Hiſtorians Pen ſince *Europe* we forſook.
I took your Muſe for old *Columbus* Ghoſt,
Who ſcrap'd acquaintance with this Weſtern Coaſt:
But in converſe ſome Pages I might find,
Than all *Columbus* Gemms, a brighter mind.
Former Adventures did at beſt beguile,
About theſe Natives Riſe (obſcure as *Nile*)
Their grand Apoſtle writes of their return;
William's their Language; *Hubbard* how they burn,
Rob, Kill and Roaſt, lead Captive, Flay, Blaſpheme;
Of *Engliſh* Valour too he makes his Theme,
Whoſe Tragical account may Chriſtned be,
New-Englands Travels through the Bloody Sea.
Drake gat renown by creeping round the old;
To Treat of this New World our Author's bold.

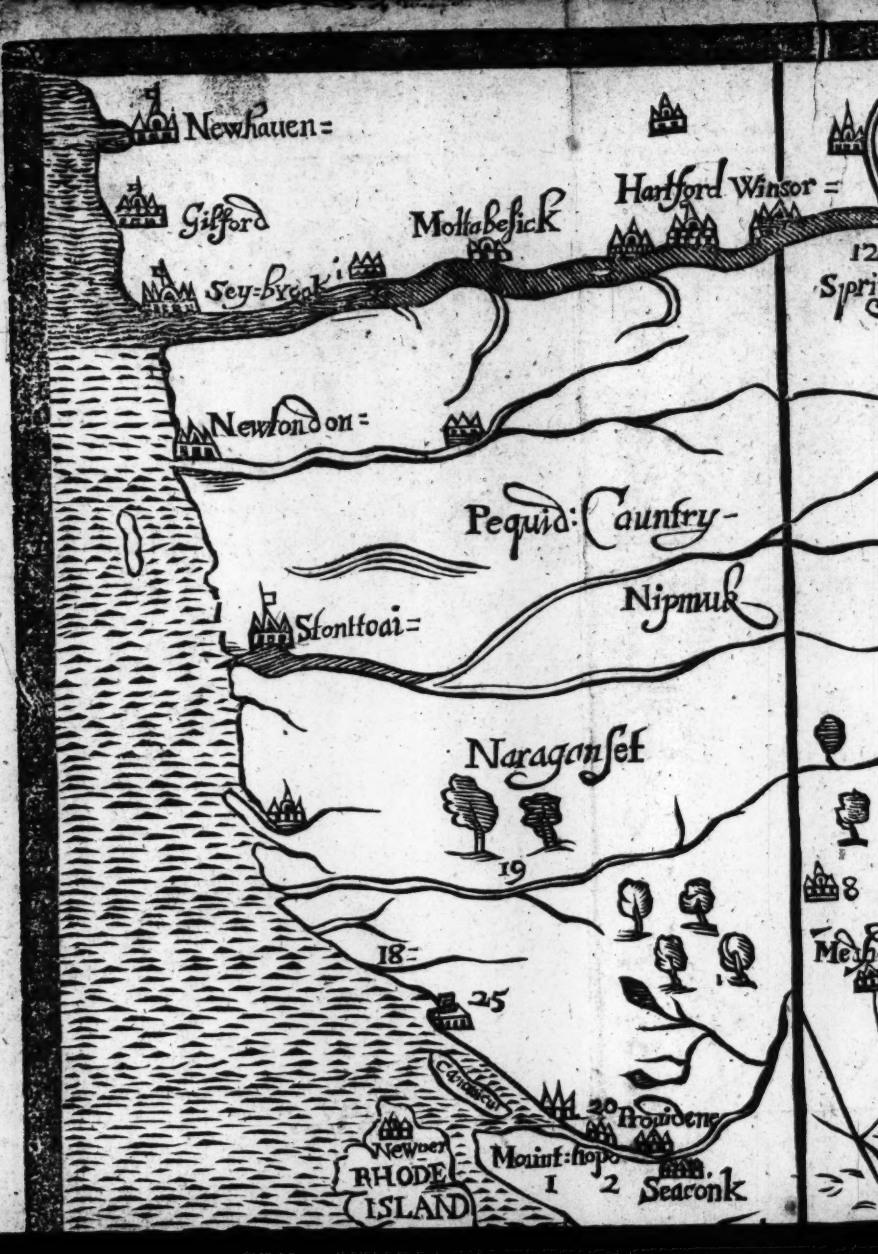
Names

Names uncouth which ne'r *Minſhew* could reduce
By's *Polyglotton* to the vulgar uſe.
Unheard of places, like ſome *New-Atlantis*,
Before in fancy only, now *Newlandis*:
New-found and ſubtil Stratagems of War,
We can quaint *Elton* and brave *Barriffe* ſpare:
New Diſcipline and Charges of Command
Are cloath'd in *Indian* by this *Engliſh* hand.
Moxon who drew two Globes, or whoſoere,
Muſt make a third, or elſe the old ones tear,
To find a Room for thy new Map, by which
Thy Friends and Country all thou doſt enrich.

Gratitudinis ergo apposuit.

B. T.

Names


Newhauen=
Gilford
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Newport
RHODE
ISLAND
12
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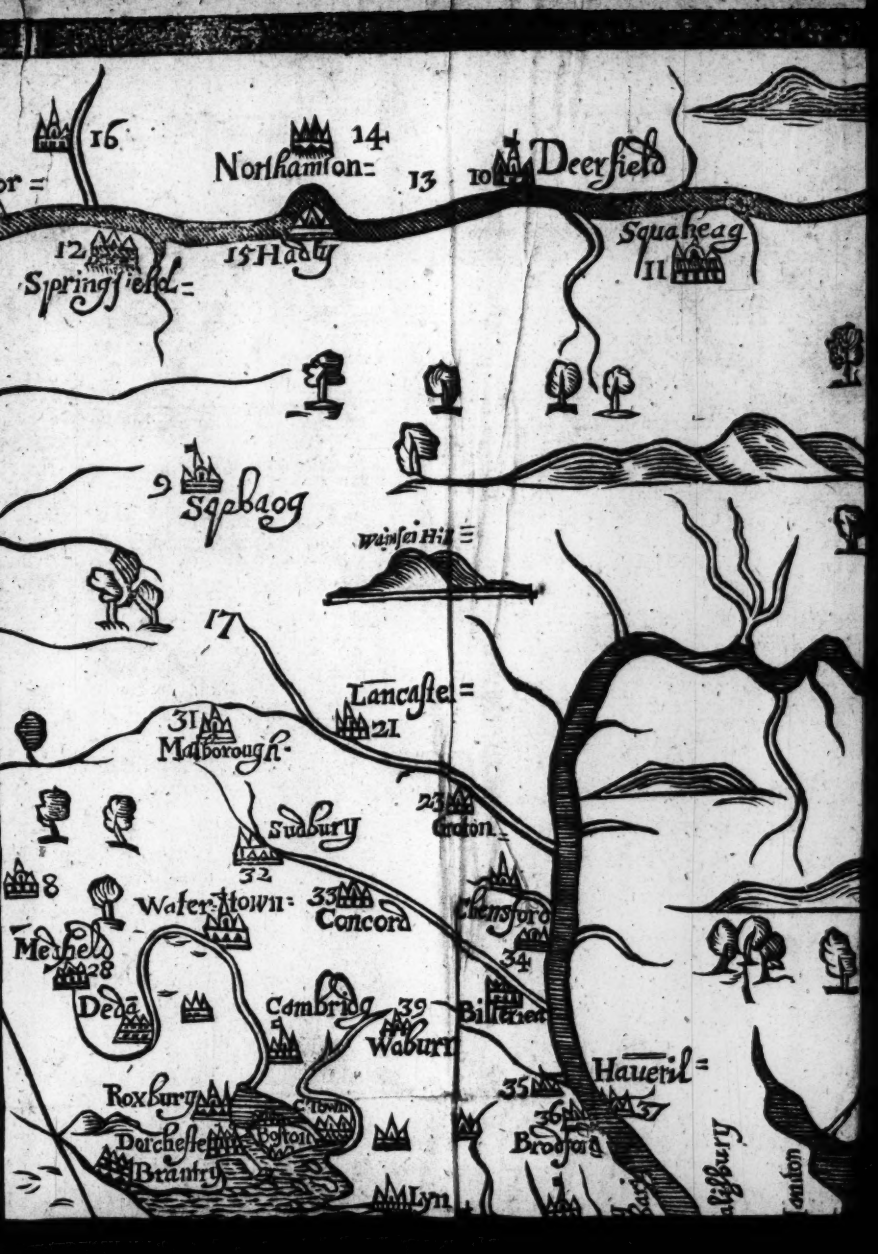

16
14
Northamton
13
10
Deerfield
12
Springfield
15 Hadly
Squaheag
11
9
Sqpbaog
Wainsei Hill
17
Lancaste
21
31
Malborough
23
Groton
Sudbury
32
8
Water-town
33
Concord
Chensford
34
Medfield
28
Dedā
Cambridg
39
Billerica
Waburn
Haueril
35
37
36
Roxbury
C Town
Dorchester
Boston
Brodford
Brantry
Lyn

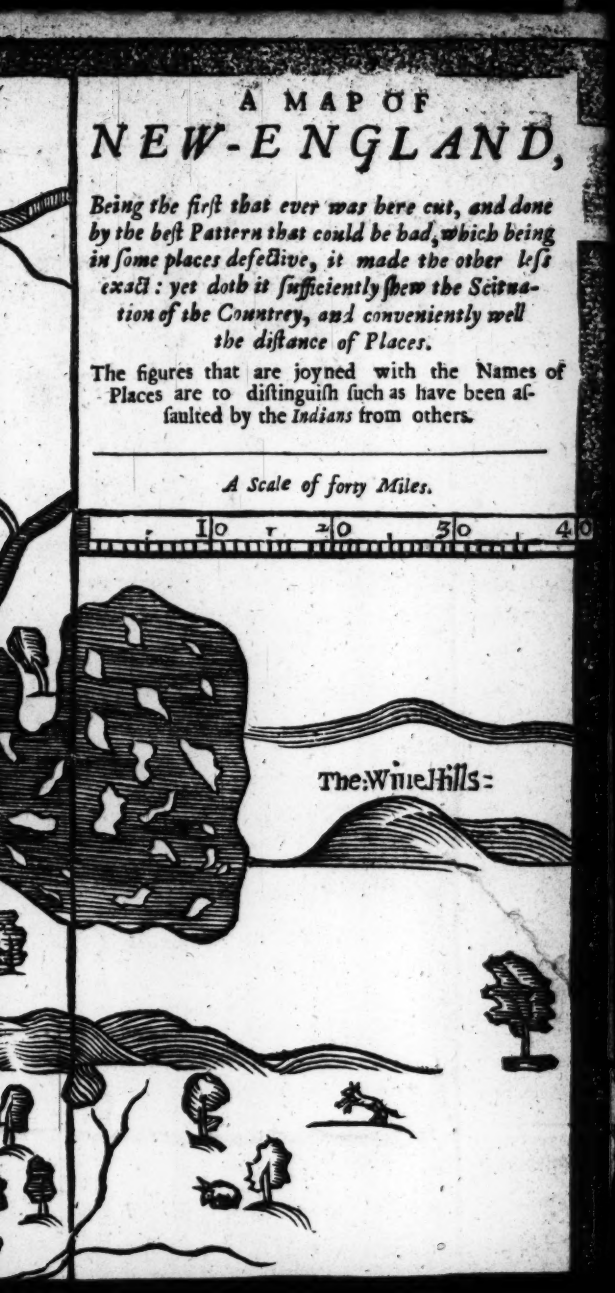
Salisbury
Honiton
Dover

A MAP OF NEW-ENGLAND,

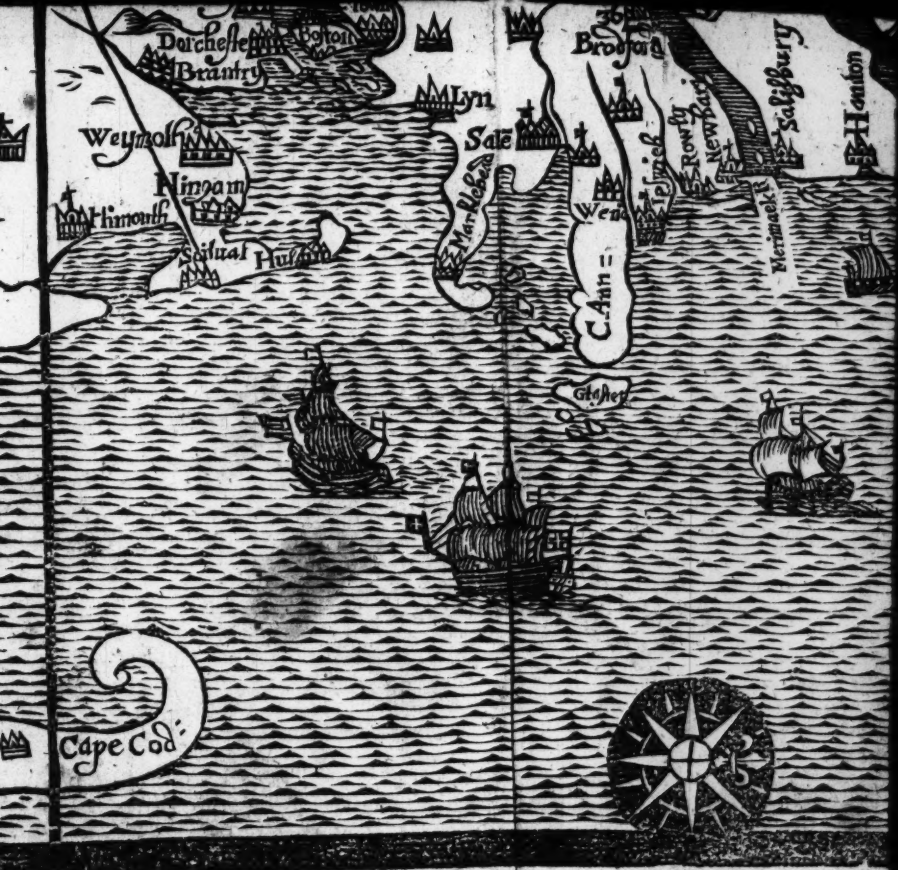
Being the first that ever was here cut, and done by the best Pattern that could be had, which being in some places defective, it made the other less exact: yet doth it sufficiently shew the Scituation of the Countrey, and conveniently well the distance of Places.

The figures that are joyned with the Names of Places are to distinguish such as have been assaulted by the *Indians* from others.

A Scale of forty Miles.



Newport
RHODE
ISLAND
Mount:hope
1
2
Seaconk
Pocasset:6
7
Tauton
4
3
Sandwich
Martins
Vneyard
Yarmouth
Nantuket


Dorchester
Boston
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Weymoth
Salē
Ninzam
Himouth
Scituat
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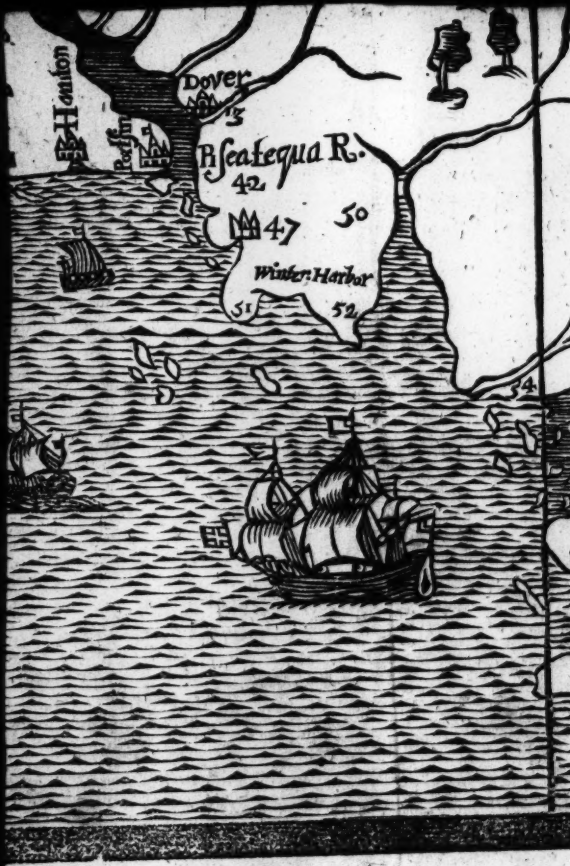
Ipswich
Rowly
Newbary
Salisbury
Hanton
Merimack R
C. Ann
Glasier
Cape Cod


Hamilton
Dover
13
Piscatequa R.
42
47
50
Winter: Harbor
51
52
54

54
55
40
Casco Bay
Kenebec R R
48
Pemaquid

A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS IN *NEW-ENGLAND*,

From the firſt Planting thereof, to the preſent Time.

KNown unto God are all his works from the foundation of the World, though manifeſt to us only by the events of time, that fruitful mother of all things, which in the former age did bring forth, at leaſt did bring to light the knowledg of this Weſtern World, called *America*, that in all foregoing times and ages, lay hid in this obſcure and remote Region, covered with a vail of ignorance, and locked up from the knowledg of all the reſt of the Inhabitants of the Earth. To whom the honour of its inveſtigation doth of right more properly belong, is ſufficiently declared by the Hiſtory and Reports of ſuch as were ey-witneſſes thereof, and not intended to be any part of the preſent diſquiſition. The moſt conſiderable part of all the North-ſide of *America*, is called *New England*. In the fertility of the Soil, ſalubrioufneſs of the Air, and many other commodious advantages, moſt reſembling the Countrey from whence it borrowed its appellation. For the knowledg thereof the World is moſt beholding to the diſcoveries of the *Engliſh*, under the conduct of *Sebaſtian Cabbot* a famous *Perteguez*

about the year 1497: though ſince much perfected by the induſtry and travels of Captain *Goſnold*, Captain *Hudſon*, Captain *Smith*, and others of the *Engliſh* Nation. *North America*, this poſthumous birth of time, is as to its nativity, of the ſame ſtanding with her two elder Siſters, *Peru* and *Mexico*; yet was ſuffered to lie in its Swadling cloaths one whole Century of years: Nature having promiſed no ſuch Dowry of rich Mines of Silver and Gold to them that would eſpouſe her for their own, as ſhe did unto the other two, which poſſibly was the reaſon why ſhe was not ſo haſtily deflowred by her firſt diſcoverers, nor yet ſo early courted by any of the Princes of *Europe*, lying wholly neglected as it were, until a ſmall company of Planters, under the command of Captain *George Popham*, and Captain *Gilbert*, were ſent over at the charge of Sir *John Popham* in the year 1605, to begin a Colony upon a Tract of Land about *Saga de hoch*, ſcituate on the ſouth-ſide of the River of *Kennibeck*, and about that called *Shipſcot River*, about twenty miles South-weſt from *Pemmaquid*, the moſt Northerly bound of all *New-England*. But that deſign within two years expiring with its firſt Founder; ſoon after ſome honourable perſons of the weſt of *England*, commonly called *the Council of Plimouth*, being more certainly informed of ſeveral Navigable Rivers and commodious Havens, with other places fit either for Traffick or Planting, newly diſcovered by many skilful Navigators, obtained a Grant by Patent, under the great Seal from King *James* of bleſſed memory, of all that part of *North-America*, called *New England*, from the 40 to the 48 *gr.* of North Latitude. From which Grand and Original Patent, all other Charters and grants of Land from *Pemmaquid* to *Delaware Bay*, along the Sea-coaſt, derive their Linage and Pedigree. Thus was that vaſt tract of Land, after the year 1612, cantoned and parcelled out into many leſſer Diviſions and parcels, according as Adventurers preſented; which ſaid Grants being founded upon uncertain, or falſe Deſcriptions, and Reports of ſome that travelled thither, did many of them interfere one upon another, to the great diſturbance of the firſt Planters, and prejudice of the Proprietors themſelves, as is too well known by any that have had occaſion to ſtay never ſo little amongſt them, many of whom are yet ſurviving. For notwithſtanding the great charge and vaſt expences the firſt Adventurers were at, the firſt Proprietors of the whole *Province* of *Mayne* and others, (reaching from the head of *Caſco Bay* North-eaſt to the mouth of *Paſcataqua River* about ſixty miles Weſtward) and the hopes they might have conceived of being the firſt Founders of *New-Colonies*, and of enlarging their Eſtates and Inheritances by thoſe new acquired poſſeſſions and Lordſhips, there was little profit reaped from thence,

thence after the rich fleeces of Beaver were gleaned away, nor any great improvement made of those large portions of Lands, save the erecting of some few Cottages for Fishermen, and a few inconsiderable Buildings for the Planters, which were on those occasions drawn over the Sea, to settle upon the most Northerly parts of *New-England*.

But whether it were by the imprudence of the first Adventurers, or the dissoluteness of the persons they sent over to manage their Affairs, or whither want of faithfulness or skill to manage their trust, they were by degrees in a manner quite destitute almost of Laws and Government, and left to shift for themselves, by which means at last they fell under the Jurisdiction of the *Nassachusets Colony*, not by Usurpation, as is by great mistake suggested to his *Majesty*, but by necessity, and the earnest desire of the Planters themselves; to accept of whom, those of the *Massachusets Colony* were the more easily induced, in that they apprehended the bounds of their own Patent, by a favourable Interpretation of the words describing the Northern Line [Three miles beyond the most Northerly branch of *Merimack River*] do reach somewhat beyond *Pemmaquid*, the most Northerly place of all *New England*.

This was the first beginning of things in *New England*, at which time they were not unlike the times of old, when the people of *Judah* were said to be without a Teaching Priest, and without Law; and no wonder things were no more successfully carried on.

In the Year 1620, a Company belonging to Mr. *Robinsons* Church at *Leyden* in *Holland*, although they had been courteously entertained by the *Dutch*, as Strangers sojourning amongst them, yet foreseeing many inconveniences like to increase, and that they could not so well provide for the good of their Posterity under the Government of a Forreign Nation: they resolved to intreat so much favour from their own Soveraign Prince, King *James*, as to grant them liberty under the shelter of his Royal Authority, to place themselves in some part of *New-England*, and newly discovered; therefore having obtained some kind of Patent or Grant, for some place about *Hudson's River*, they set sail from *Plimouth* in *September* for the Southern parts of *New-England*; but as they intended to bend their course thitherward, *per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum*; they were at last cast upon a bosom of the South Cape of the *Massachusets Bay*, called *Cape Cod*, about the 11*th* of *November*, from whence the Winter so fast approaching, they had no opportunity to remove; and finding some incouragement from the hopefulness of the Soil, and courtesie of the Heathen, they resolved there to make their abode for the future, which they did, laying the foundation of a new Co-

lony, which from the remembrance of the laſt Town in *England* they ſailed from, they called *New-Plimouth*; containing no very conſiderable Tract of Land, ſcarce extending an hundred miles in length through the whole Cape, and ſcarce half ſo much in breadth where it is broadeſt. The firſt Founders of that Colony aiming more at Religion than Earthly Poſſeſſions, aſpiring not to any large dimenſion of Land, in their ſetling upon thoſe Coaſts.

At *Weymouth* alſo was a Plantation begun by Mr. *Weſton* in the year 1622, but it came to little. The North and South Border of the *Maſſachuſets Bay* being thus planted, the middle part was the more eaſie to be filled up, which thus was brought about. Some Gentlemen and others, obſerving how it fared with thoſe of *New-Plimouth*, were deſiring upon the like ground to make the ſame attempt for themſelves; wherefore having by a conſiderable ſum of money purchaſed of ſome Gentlemen that had a Grant of the Council of *Plimouth*, all their right and intereſt in a Plantation there begun in the *Maſſachuſets Bay*; and having attained a confirmation thereof by Patent from King *Charls* of famous memory, in the year 1628, they ſent over a Governour with ſeveral perſons to lay ſome foundation of another Colony in the *Maſſachuſets Bay*: and in the year 1630, more of the perſons intereſted in the ſaid *Patent* (thence commonly called *Patentees*) with ſeveral other perſons, intending to venture their lives and all with them, tranſported themſelves and their Families into the ſaid *Maſſachuſets*, who did in a ſhort ſpace of time by the acceſſion of many hundreds, who every year flocked after them, make ſuch increaſe, that in the ſpace of five or ſix years, there were twenty conſiderable Towns built and peopled, and many of the Towns firſt planted, became ſo filled with Inhabitants, that like Swarms of Bees they were ready to ſwarm, not only into new Plantations, but into new Colonies: inſomuch that in the year 1635, a new Colony began to be planted upon *Connecticut River*, partly by combination amongſt themſelves, removing from ſome Towns about the *Maſſachuſets Bay*, and partly by the intereſt of a Patent purchaſed of that honourable Gentleman Mr. *Fennick*, Agent for the Lord *Sey*, and Lord *Brook*, the Lord Proprietors of the ſaid River *Connecticut*; at the mouth of which River they had built a Fort (called after their own titles *Sey-Brook Fort*) commanding the paſſage of the ſaid River. Yea ſuch was the Confluence of people making over into thoſe parts, that in the year 1637, a fourth Colony began to be planted, bearing the name of *Newhaven* from the firſt Town erected therein, ſeated near the midway betwixt *Hudſon's River* and that of *Connecticut*. The Sea-coaſt from the

the pitch of *Cape Cod* to the mouth of *Connecticut River*, inhabited by several Nations of *Indians*, *Wompanoogs* (the first Authors of the present Rebellion) *Narhaganſits*, *Pequods*, *Mohegins*, as the more inland part of the Country by the *Nipnets* (a general name for all inland *Indians* betwixt the *Maſſachuſets* and *Connecticut River*). The Sea-coaſt South-weſt from *Plimouth*, was firſt poſſeſſed by ſome diſcontented with the Government of the *Maſſachuſets* Colony, from which ſome being exiled, others of their friends accompanying of them, ſetled themſelves upon a fair Iſland to the South-weſt of *Cape Cod*, now called *Road-Iſland*; others ſetled upon the Mayn, at a place called *Providence*, and ſo by degrees planting toward *Narhaganſet Bay*, made another Plantation, called *Warwick*; which places are ſince by Patent conferred upon the Inhabitants of *Road Iſland*; the reſt of the Country from *Pequod River* to the River of *Connecticut*, falling within the bounds of *Connecticut Colony* by Patent alſo, ſince confirmed to the ſaid Colony. Things had been very proſperouſly and ſucceſsfully carried on in all the aforeſaid Colonies and Juriſdictions, from the year 1620, to the year 1636, at which time the *Narhaganſet Indians*, the moſt warlike & fierce of all the *Indians* in that part of the Country, who had made all the reſt of the *Indians* to ſtand in awe, having committed many barbarous outrages upon their neighbour *Indians*, both *Narhaganſets* on the eaſt-ſide, and *Mohegins* on the weſt ſide of them: and alſo upon the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, as they came occaſionally to traffick with them: and in the year 1634, having barbarouſly murthered Capt. *Stone* and Capt. *Norton*, as they were trading with them. Afterwards one *Oldham* coming amongſt them upon the like account. In like manner, having committed ſeveral outrages upon the Planters about *Connecticut River*, the Inhabitants of all the Colonies, unanimouſly ſetting upon them in the beginning of the year 1637, they were eaſily ſuppreſſed, about 700 of them deſtroyed, the reſt either fled to the *Mohawkes*, by whom they were all cut off that eſcaped, or elſe ſheltring themſelves under the *Narhaganſets* and *Mohegins* their neighbours, they were by the power of the *Engliſh* all ſubjected to one of thoſe two Nations of the *Indians*. *Miantonimoh* the chief Sachem or Lord of the *Narhaganſets*, expecting to be ſole Lord and Ruler over all the *Indians*, after the *Pequods* were ſubdued, began to quarrel with the *Mohegins* upon the account of Soveraignty, notwithſtanding a firm Agreement was made betwixt the *Engliſh* and the ſaid *Narhaganſets* in the year 1637, when they had helped to deſtroy the *Pequods*; and alſo notwithſtanding the tripartite League between the ſaid *Narhaganſets*, the *Mohegins*, and the *Engliſh* at *Hartford* (the chief Town of *Connecti-*

cut

cut Colony) made in the year 1638, wherein the ſaid *Indians* were ſolemnly engaged not to quarrel either with the *Mohegins*, or any other *Indians*, until they had firſt asked the advice of the *Engliſh*, to vvhoſe determination they had likewiſe obliged themſelves to ſtand in all following Differences among them. Yet theſe ambitious *Narhaganſets* ſpecially their chief Leader *Miantonimoh*, bare ſuch an inveterate hatred againſt the *Mohegins*, that they were every year picking quarrels with them. The *Mohegins* on the other ſide though not ſo numerous, yet a more warlike people and more politick, always made their recourſe to the *Engliſh*, complaining of the inſolencies of the *Narhaganſets*, contrary to their League, ſo as they would hardly be kept from making open War againſt them, when they ſaw all other attempts to kill and deſtroy *Uncas* the *Mohegin* Sachem, by Treachery, Poiſon and Sorcery, prove ineffectual. Inſomuch, that at laſt the malice of *Miantonimoh* and his *Narhaganſets* grew to that height, that they began to plot againſt the *Engliſh* themſelves, for defending of *Uncas*. But it being diſcovered by *Uncas* and ſome of his men to the *Engliſh*, *Miantonimoh* was ſent for by the *Maſſachuſets* Court to come to *Boſton*; when he came there, he would have denied thoſe things laid to his charge, but was convicted by one of his own fellows; and inſtead of ſtanding to his promiſe, to deliver him to the *Mohegin* Sachem, whoſe Subject he was; going homeward he cut off his head, to prevent his telling more tales. And with great diſcontent as he was going home, ſaid, He would come no more at *Boſton*; wherein he proved a truer Prophet than he himſelf believed when he uttered the words: for in the end of the ſame year 1643, making War upon *Uncas*, he was taken priſoner by him, and ſoon after by the advice of the Commiſſioners of the four Colonies (at that time united firmly into a League offenſive and defenſive, on which account they were after that time called, The united Colonies of *New-England*, though ſince that time they are reduced but to three Colonies; that of *New-haven* and *Connecticut*, by the laſt Patent being conjoined in one): his head was cut off by *Uncas*, it being juſtly feared, that there would never be any firm peace, either betwixt the *Engliſh* and the *Narhaganſets*, or betwixt the *Narhaganſets* and the *Mohegins*, while *Miantonimoh* was left alive; however the *Narhaganſets* have ever ſince that time born an implacable malice againſt *Uncas*, and all the *Mohegins*, and for their ſakes ſecretly againſt the *Engliſh*, ſo far as they durſt diſcover it.

In the Years 1645, and 1646, they grew ſo inſolent, that the Commiſſioners of the united Colonies were compelled to raiſe Forces to go againſt them: but when they perceived that the *Engliſh* were in good

earneſt,

earneſt, they began to be afraid, and ſued for peace, and ſubmitted to pay a tribute to ſatisfie for the charge of preparation for the War, but were always very backward to make payment, until the *Engliſh* were forced to demand it by new Forces; ſo that it appeared they were unwillingly willing to hold any friendly correſpondence with the *Engliſh*, yet durſt they never make any open attempt upon them, until the preſent Rebellion, wherein that they had no ſmall hand, is too too evident, notwithſtanding all their pretences to the contrary, as will appear in the ſequel of this Hiſtory.

Thus it is apparent upon what Terms the *Engliſh* ſtood with the *Narhaganſets*, ever ſince the cutting off *Miantonimoh*, their chief Sachems head by *Uncas*, it being done from the advice and Counſel of the *Engliſh*, *Anno* 1643. As for the reſt of the *Indians*, ever ſince the ſuppreſſing of the *Pequods* in the year 1637, until the year 1675., there was always in appearance amity and good correſpondence on all ſides, ſcarce an Engliſh man was ever known to be aſſaulted or hurt by any of them, until after the year 1671, when the ſon of one *Matoonas*, who as was ſuppoſed, being vexed in his mind that the deſign againſt the *Engliſh*, intended to begin 1671, did not take place, out of meer malice and ſpight againſt them, ſlew an Engliſh man travelling along the Road: the ſaid *Matoonas* being a *Nipnet* Indian, which *Nipnets* were under the command of the Sachem of *Mount-hope*, the Author of all the preſent miſchiefs. Upon a due Enquiry into all preceding tranſactions between the *Indians* and the *Engliſh*, from their firſt ſetling in theſe coaſts, there will appear no ground of quarrel that any of them had againſt the *Engliſh*, nor any appearance of provocation upon one account or other; for when *Plimouth* Colony was firſt planted, within three months after their firſt landing, *March* 16. 1620, *Maſſaſoit* the chief Sachem of all that ſide of the Countrey, repaired to the *Engliſh* at *Plimouth*, and entred into a ſolemn League upon ſundry Articles, printed in *N. E. Memorial* 1669. *p.* 24, the words are as followeth:

1. *THAT neither he, nor any of his ſhould injure or do hurt to any of their people.*

2. *That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he ſhould ſend the Offendor that they might puniſh him.*

3. *That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he ſhould cauſe it to be reſtored, and they ſhould do the like to his.*

4. *That if any did unjuſtly war againſt him, they ſhould aid him; and if any did war againſt them, he ſhould aid them.*

5. *That*

5. *That he ſhould ſend to his neighbour Confederates, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewiſe compriſed in theſe Conditions of Peace.*

6. *That when his Men came to them upon any occaſion, they ſhould leave their Arms* (which were then Bows and Arrows) *behind them.*

7. Laſtly, *That ſo doing, their Soveraign Lord King* James *would eſteem him as his Friend and Ally.*

The which League the ſame Sachim, *Sept.* 25. 1630, a little before his death, coming with his eldeſt ſon, afterwards called *Alexander*, did renew with the *Engliſh* at the Court of *Plimouth*, for himſelf and his Son, and their Heirs and Succeſſors: and after that he came to Mr. *Browns*, that lived not far from *Mount Hope*, bringing his two Sons, *Alexander* and *Philip* with him, deſiring that there might be Love and Amity after his death, between his Sons and them, as there had been betwixt himſelf and them in former times: yet it is very remarkable, that this *Maſſaſoit*, called alſo *Wooſamequen* (how much ſoever he affected the Engliſh, yet) was never in the leaſt degree any ways well-affected to the Religion of the Engiſh, but would in his laſt Treaty with his Neighbours at *Plimouth*, when they were with him about purchaſing ſome Land at *Swanzy*, have had them engaged never to attempt to draw away any of his People from their old *Pagan* ſuperſtition, and deviliſh Idolatry, to the Chriſtian Religion, and did much inſiſt upon it till he ſaw the Engliſh were reſolved never to make any Treaty with him more upon that account; which when he diſcerned, he did not further urge it: but that was a bad Omen, that notwithſtanding whatever his humanity were to the Engliſh, as they were Strangers (for indeed they had repayed his former kindneſs to them, by protecting him afterwards againſt the inſolencies of the *Narhaganſets*) he manifeſted no ſmall diſplacency of ſpirit againſt them, as they were Chriſtians: which ſtrain was evident more in his Son that ſucceeded him, and all his People, inſomuch that ſome diſcerning perſons of that Juriſdiction, have feared that that Nation of *Indians* would all be rooted out, as is ſince come to paſs. The like may be obſerved concerning the *Narhaganſets*, who were always more civil and courteous to the Engliſh than any of the other *Indians*, yet never as yet received the leaſt tincture of Chriſtian Religion, but have in a manner run the ſame fate with the reſt of their Neighbours of *Mount Hope*, there being very few of them now left ſtanding. Nor is it unworthy the Relation, what a perſon of quality amongſt us hath of late affirmed one being much converſant with the *Indians* about *Merimack River*, being *Anno* 1660; invited

invited by ſome Sagamores or Sachims to a great Dance (which ſolemnities are the times they make uſe of to tell their ſtories, and convey the knowledg of forepaſt and moſt memorable things to Poſterity). *Paſſaconaway* the great Sachim of that part of the Country, intending at that time to make his laſt and farewel ſpeech to his Children and People, that were then all gathered together, he addreſſed himſelf to them in this manner:

I am now going the way of all fleſh, or ready to die, and not likely to ſee you ever met together any more; I will now leave this word of Counſel with you, that you take heed how you quarrel with the Engliſh; *for though you may do them much miſchief, yet aſſuredly you will all be deſtroyed, and rooted off the Earth if you do: for,* ſaid he, *I was as much an enemy to the* Engliſh *at their firſt coming into theſe parts, as any one whatſoever, and did try all ways and means poſſible to have deſtroyed them, at leaſt to have prevented them ſitting down here, but I could no way effect it; (it is to be noted that this* Paſſaconaway *was the moſt noted* Pawaw *and* Sorcerer *of all the Country) therefore I adviſe you never to contend with the* Engliſh, *nor make war with them. And accordingly his eldeſt Son* Wonnalancet *by name, as ſoon as he perceived that the* Indians *were up in Arms, he withdrew himſelf into ſome remote place, that he might not be hurt by the* Engliſh, *or the Enemies, or be in danger by them.*

This paſſage was thought fit to be inſerted here, it having ſo near an agreement with the former, intimating ſome ſecret awe of God upon the hearts of ſome of the principal amongſt them, that they durſt not hurt the Engliſh, although they bear no good affection to their Religion; wherein they ſeem not a little to imitate *Balaam*, who whatever he uttered when he was under the awful power of divine illumination, yet when left to himſelf, was as bad an Enemy to the Iſrael of God, as ever before.

But to return whence there hath been this Digreſſion:

After the death of this *Wooſamequen* or *Maſſaſoit*, his eldeſt Son ſucceeded him about twenty years ſince, *Alexander* by name, who notwithſtanding the League he had entred into with the Engliſh, together with his Father, in the year 1639, had neither affection to the Engliſhmens perſons, nor yet to their Religion, but had been plotting with the *Narhaganſets* to riſe againſt the Engliſh; of which the Governour and Council of *Plimouth* being informed, they preſently ſent for him to bring him to the Court; the perſon to whom that ſervice was committed, was a prudent and reſolute Gentleman, the preſent Governour of the ſaid Colony, who was neither afraid of Danger, nor yet willing to delay in a

matter of that moment, he forthwith taking eight or ten ſtout men with him well armed, intended to have gone to the ſaid *Alexanders* dwelling, diſtant at leaſt forty miles from the Governours houſe; but by a good providence, he found him whom he went to ſeek at an Hunting-houſe, within ſix miles of the Engliſh Towns, where the ſaid *Alexander* with about eighty men were newly come in from Hunting, and had left their Guns without doors, which Major *Winſlow* with his ſmall company wiſely ſeized, and conveyed away, and then went into the Wigwam, and demanded *Alexander* to go along with him before the Governor, at which meſſage he was much appall'd; but being told by the undaunted Meſſenger, that if he ſtir'd or refuſed to go, he was a dead man; he was by one of his chief Councellors, in whoſe advice he moſt confided, perſwaded to go along to the Governors houſe; but ſuch was the pride and height of his ſpirit, that the very ſurprizal of him, ſo raiſed his choler and indignation, that it put him into a Fever, which notwithſtanding all poſſible means that could be uſed, ſeemed mortal; whereupon entreating thoſe that held him Priſoner, that he might have liberty to return home, promiſing to return again if he recovered, and to ſend his Son as Hoſtage till he could ſo do; on that conſideration he was fairly diſmiſſed, but died before he got half-way home. Here let it be obſerved, that although ſome have taken up falſe Reports, as if the Engliſh had compelled him to go further or faſter than he was able, and ſo fell into a Fever; or as if he were not well uſed by the Phyſician that looked to him, while he vvas with the Engliſh, all which are notoriouſly falſe; nor is it to be imagined that a perſon of ſo noble a diſpoſition as is that Gentleman (at that time employed to bring him) ſhould himſelf, or ſuffer any elſe to be uncivil to a perſon allied to them by his own, as well as his Fathers League, as the ſaid *Philip* alſo was; nor was any thing of that nature ever objected to the Engliſh of *Plimouth*, by the ſaid *Alexanders* Brother, by name *Philip*, commonly for his ambitious and haughty Spirit nick-named *King Philip*, when he came in the year 1662, in his own perſon with *Sauſaman* his Secretary and chief Coucnellor to renew the former league that had been between his Predeceſſors and the Engliſh of *Plimouth*, but there was as much correſpondence betwixt them for the next ſeven years, as ever had been in any former times: what can be imagined therefore, beſides the inſtigation of Satan, that either envied at the proſperity of the Church of God here ſeated, or elſe fearing leſt the power of the Lord Jeſus, that had overthrown his Kingdom in other parts of the World, ſhould do the like here, and ſo the ſtone taken out of the Mountain without hands, ſhould become a great Mountain it ſelf, and fill the

whole

whole Earth, no cauſe of provocation being given by the Engliſh; For once before this, in the year 1671, the Devil, who was a Murderer from the beginning, had ſo filled the heart of this ſalvage Miſcreant with envy and malice againſt the Engliſh, that he was ready to break out into open War againſt the Inhabitants of *Plimouth*, pretending ſome petite injuries done to him in planting Land; but when the matter of Controverſie came to be heard before divers of the *Maſſachuſets Colony*: yea when he himſelf came to *Boſton*, as it were referring his caſe to the Judgment of that Colony, nothing of that nature could be made to appear; Whereupon in way of ſubmiſſion, he was of neceſſity by that evident conviction, forced to acknowledg that it was the naughtineſs of his own heart that put him upon that Rebellion, and nothing of any provocation from the Engliſh; and to a Confeſſion of this nature, with a ſolemn renewal of his Covenant, declaring his deſire, that this his Covenant might teſtifie to the World againſt him, if ever he ſhould prove unfaithful to thoſe of *Plimouth*, or any other of the Engliſh Colonies therein; himſelf with his chief Councellors ſubſcribed in the preſence of ſome Meſſengers ſent on purpoſe to hear the difference between *Plimouth* and the ſaid *Philip*. But for further ſatisfaction of the Reader, the ſaid Agreement and ſubmiſſion ſhall be here publiſhed.

Taunton, April 10th, 1671.

WHereas my Father, my Brother, and my ſelf, have formerly ſubmitted our ſelves and our People unto the Kings Majeſty of England, *and to the Colony of* New-Plimouth, *by ſolemn Covenant under our hand; but I having of late through my indiſcretion, and the naughtineſs of my heart, violated and broken this my Covenant with my Friends, by taking up Arms, with evil intent againſt them, and that groundleſly; I being now deeply ſenſible of my unfaithfulneſs and folly, do deſire at this time ſolemnly to renew my Covenant with my ancient Friends, and my Fathers Friends above-mentioned, and do deſire this may teſtifie to the World againſt me if ever I ſhall again fail in my Faithfulneſs towards them (that I have now, and at all times found ſo kind to me) or any other of the* Engliſh Colonies; *and as a real pledg of my true intentions for the future to be faithful and friendly, I do freely engage to reſign up unto the Government of* New-Plimouth, *all my Engliſh Arms, to be kept by them for their ſecurity,*

ſo long as they ſhall ſee reaſon. For true performance of the premiſes I have hereunto ſet my hand, together with the reſt of my Council:

In preſence of
William Davis
William Hudſon.
Thomas Brattle.

The mark of *P. Philip* chief Sachem of *Pocanoket.*
The Mark of *V. Tavoſer.*
The Mark of m Capt. *Wiſpoſke,*
The Mark of *T. Woonkaponchunt.*
The Mark of 8 *Nimrod.*

TO which for the further clearing the Juſtice of the preſent War, the Reſult of the debate of the Commiſſioners of the united Colonies about the matter of the War, ſhall be here inſerted.

At a Meeting of the Commiſſioners of the United Colonies held at *Boſton, September* 9th, 1675.

WE *having received from the Commiſſioners of* Plimouth, *a Narrative, ſhewing the Riſe and ſeveral ſteps of that Colony, as to the preſent War with the* Indians, *which had its beginning there, and its progreſs into the* Maſſachuſets, *by their inſolencies and outrages, murthering many perſons, and burning their Houſes in ſundry Plantations in both Colonies. And having only conſidered the ſame, do declare, that the ſaid War doth appear to be both juſt and neceſſary, and its firſt Riſe only a defenſive War. And therefore we do agree and conclude, That it ought to be jointly proſecuted by all the united Colonies, and the Charges thereof to be born and paid, as is agreed in the Articles of Confederation.*

John Winthrop.
James Richards.
Thomas Danforth.
William Staughton.
Joſiah Winſlow.
Thomas Hinckley.

Yet whatever his ſubmiſſion was before, or his ſubjecting himſelf and his people to our King, or his engagement to pay a ſum of money in part of the Charges then occaſioned by him (nor have the Engliſh in or about *Plimouth*, ſince, or before that time been any ways injurious unto him, or any of his people) all which are fully declared in a Narrative given by the Commiſſioners of the Colony of *Plimouth*, wherein they alſo ſignifie that the ſettlement and iſſue of the former Controverſie

ſe between *Philip* and them, was obtained and made (principally) by the mediation, and interpoſed advice and counſel of the other two confederate Colonies, and alſo in a Letter under the Governors hand, in theſe words,---*I think I can clearly ſay, that before theſe preſent troubles broke out, the Engliſh did not poſſeſs one foot of Land in this Colony but what was fairly obtained by honeſt purchaſe of the Indian Proprietors; Nay, becauſe ſome of our people are of a covetous diſpoſition, and the Indians are in ſtreights eaſily prevailed with to part with their Lands, we firſt made a Law, that none ſhould purchaſe or receive of gift any Land of the Indians without the knowledg and allowance of our Court, and penalty of a Fine, five pound* per *Acre, for all that ſhould be ſo bought or obtained. And leſt yet they ſhould be ſtreightned, we Ordered that* Mount-Hope, Pocaſſet *and ſeveral other Necks of the beſt land in the Colony (becauſe moſt ſuitable and convenient for them) ſhould never be bought out of their hands, or elſe they would have ſold them long ſince. And our neighbours at* Rehoboth, *and* Swanzy, *although they bought their Lands fairly of this* Philip *and his Father and Brother, yet becauſe of their vicinity, that they might not treſpaſs upon the Indians, did at their own coſt ſet up a very ſubſtantial Fence quite croſs that great Neck between the Engliſh and the* Indians, *and payed due damage if at any time any unruly Horſe or other beaſts brake in and treſpaſſed. And for divers years laſt paſt (that all occaſions of offence in that reſpect might be prevented), the Engliſh agreed with* Philip *and his, for a certain ſum yearly to maintain the ſaid Fence, and ſecure themſelves. And if at any time they have brought Complaints before us, they have had Juſtice impartial and ſpeedily; ſo that our own people have frequently complained, that we erred on the other hand in ſhewing them overmuch favour.*

Marſhfield, *May* 1. 1676. Joſ. Winſlow.

Yet did this treacherous and perfidious Caitiff ſtill harbour the ſame or more miſchievous thoughts againſt the Engliſh than ever before, and hath been ſince that time plotting with all the *Indians* round about to make a general inſurrection againſt the Engliſh in all the Colonies; which as ſome priſoners lately brought in have confeſſed, ſhould have been put in execution at once, by all the *Indians* riſing as one man, againſt all thoſe plantations of Engliſh which were next them. The *Narhaganſets* having promiſed, as was confeſſed, to riſe with 4 thouſand fighting men in the Spring of this preſent year 1676. But by the occaſion hereafter to be mentioned about *Sauſaman*, *Philip* was neceſſitated for the

the ſafety of his own life to begin his Rebellion the year before, when the Deſign was not fully ripe. Yet ſome are ready to think, that if his own life had not now been in jeopardy by the guilt of the foreſaid Murther of *Sauſaman*, his heart might have failed him, when it ſhould have come to be put in execution, as it did before in the year 1671, which made one of his Captains, of far better Courage and reſolution than himſelf, when he ſaw his cowardly temper and diſpoſition, fling down his Arms, calling him *white-Liver'd Cur*, or to that purpoſe, and ſaying, That he would never own him again, or fight under him, and from that time hath turned to the Engliſh, and hath continued to this day a faithful and reſolute Soldier in their quarrel.

That the *Indians* had a Conſpiracy amongſt themſelves to riſe againſt the Engliſh, is confirmed by ſome of the *Indians* about *Hadly*, although the plot was not come to maturity when *Philip* began, the ſpecial providence of God therein over-ruling the Contrivers: For when the beginning of the Troubles firſt was reported from *Mount-Hope*, many of the *Indians* were in a kind of Maze, not knowing well what to do; ſometimes ready to ſtand for the Engliſh, as formerly they had been wont to do; ſometimes inclining to ſtrike in with *Philip* (which at the laſt they generally did) which if it had been foreſeen, much of that miſchief might have been prevented that fell out in ſeveral places, more by perfidious and treacherous dealing than any other ways: the Engliſh never imagining that after ſo many obliging kindneſſes received from them by the *Indians*, beſides their many Engagements and Proteſtations of Friendſhip, as formerly, they would have been ſo ungrateful, perfidiouſly falſe and cruel as they have ſince proved.

The occaſion of *Philips* ſo ſudden taking up Arms the laſt year, was this: There was one *John Sauſaman* a very cunning and plauſible *Indian*, well skilled in the Engliſh Language, and bred up in the profeſſion of Chriſtian Religion, imployed as a Schoolmaſter at *Natick*, the *Indian* Town, who upon ſome miſdemeanour fled from his place to *Philip*, by whom he was entertained in the room and office of a Secretary, and his chief Counceſſor, whom he truſted with all his affairs and ſecret counſels: But afterwards, whether upon the ſting of his own Conſcience, or by the frequent Sollicitations of Mr. *Eliot*, that had known him from a child, and inſtructed him in the principles of our Religion, who was often laying before him the heinous ſin of his Apoſtacy, and returning back to his old vomit; he was at laſt prevailed with to forſake *Philip*, and return back to the Chriſtian *Indians* at *Natick*, where he was baptized, manifeſted publick Repentance for all his former offences,

and

and made a ſerious profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion: and did apply himſelf to preach to the *Indians*, wherein he was better gifted than any other of the Indian Nation; ſo as he was obſerved to conform more to the Engliſh manners than any other Indian: yet having occaſion to go up with ſome others of his Country-men to *Namasket*, whether for the advantage of Fiſhing, or ſome ſuch occaſion, it matters not; being there not far from *Philips Country*, he had occaſion to be much in the company of *Philips Indians*, and of *Philip* himſelf: by which means he diſcerned by ſeveral circumſtances, that the *Indians* were plotting anew againſt us; the which out of faithfulneſs to the *Engliſh*, the ſaid *Sauſaman* informed the Governour of; adding alſo, that if it were known that he revealed it, he knew they would preſently kill him. There appearing ſo many concurrent teſtimonies from others, making it the more probable, that there was a certain truth in the information; ſome inquiry was made into the buſineſs, by examining *Philip* himſelf, and ſeveral of his Indians, who although they could do nothing, yet could not free themſelves from juſt ſuſpition; *Philip* therefore ſoon after contrived the ſaid *Sauſamans* death, which was ſtrangely diſcovered; notwithſtanding it was ſo cunningly effected, for they that murdered him, met him upon the Ice on a great Pond, and preſently after they had knocked him down, put him under the Ice, yet leaving his Gun and his Hat upon the Ice, that it might be thought he fell in accidentally through the Ice, and was drowned: but being miſſed by his Friends, who finding his Hat and his Gun, they were thereby led to the place, where his body was found under the Ice: when they took it up to bury him, ſome of his Friends, ſpecially one *David*, obſerved ſome bruiſes about his Head, which made them ſuſpect he was firſt knocked down, before he was put into the water: however, they buried him near about the place where he was found, without making any further inquiry at preſent: nevertheleſs *David* his friend, reported theſe things to ſome Engliſh at *Taunton* (a Town not far from *Namasket*), it occaſioned the Governour to inquire further into the buſineſs, wiſely conſidering, that as *Sauſaman* had told him, If it were known that he had revealed any of their plots, they would murder him for his pains: wherefore by ſpecial Warrant the body of *Sauſaman* being digged again out of his Grave, it was very apparent that he had been killed, and not drowned. And by a ſtrange providence, an Indian was found, that by accident ſtanding unſeen upon a Hill, had ſeen them murther the ſaid *Sauſaman*, but durſt never reveal it for fear of loſing his own life likewiſe, until he was called to the Court at *Plimouth*, or before the Governour, where he plainly con-

confeſſed what he had ſeen. The Murderers being apprehended, were convicted by his undeniable Teſtimony, and other remarkable circumſtances, and ſo were all put to death, being but three in number; the laſt of them confeſſed immediately before his death, That his Father (one of the Councellors and ſpecial Friends of *Philip*) was one of the two that murdered *Sauſaman*, himſelf only looking on. This was done at *Plimouth-Court*, held in *June* 1675. Inſomuch, that *Philip* apprehending the danger his own head was in next, never uſed any further means to clear himſelf from what was like to be laid to his charge, either about his plotting againſt the Engliſh, nor yet about *Sauſamans* death: but by keeping his men continually about him in Arms, and gathering what Strangers he could to join with him, marching up and down conſtantly in Arms, both all the while the Court ſat, as well as afterwards; the Engliſh of *Plimouth* hearing of all this, yet took no further notice, than only to order a Militia Watch in all the adjacent Towns, hoping that *Philip* finding himſelf not likely to be Arraigned by order of the ſaid Court, the preſent Cloud might blow over, as ſome others of like nature had done before; but in concluſion, the matter proved otherwiſe; for *Philip* finding his Strength daily increaſing, by the flocking of Neighbour-Indians unto him, and ſending over their Wives and Children to the *Narhaganſets* for ſecurity (as they uſe to do when they intend War with any of their Enemies); Immediately they began to Alarm the Engliſh at *Swanzy* (the next Town to *Philips* Country) as it were daring the Engliſh to begin; at laſt their inſolencies grew to ſuch an height, that they began not only to uſe threatning words to the Engliſh, but alſo to kill their Cattel and rifle their Houſes; whereat an Engliſh-man was ſo provoked, that he let fly a Gun at an *Indian*, but did only wound, not kill him; whereupon the *Indians* immediately began to kill all the Engliſh they could, ſo as on the 24*th* of *June* 1675, was the Alarm of War firſt ſounded in *Plimouth-Colony*, when eight or nine of the Engliſh were ſlain in and about *Swanzy*: They firſt making a ſhot at a Company of Engliſh as they returned from the Aſſembly where they were met in way of humiliation that day, whereby they killed one and wounded others: and then likewiſe at the ſame time, they ſlew two men on the High-way, ſent to call a Surgeon, and barbarouſly the ſame day murdered ſix men in and about a dwelling-Houſe in another part of the Town: all which outrages were committed ſo ſuddenly, that the Engliſh had no time to make any reſiſtance. For on the 14*th* of the ſame Month, beſides endeavours uſed by Mr. *Brown* of *Swanzy*, one of the Magiſtrates of *Plimouth* Juriſdiction, an amicable Letter was ſent from the Council of *Plimouth* to *Philip*, ſhewing

ſhewing their diſlike of his practiſes, and adviſing him to diſmiſs his ſtrange *Indians*, and not ſuffer himſelf to be abuſed by falſe reports concerning them that intended him no hurt: but no anſwer could be obtained, otherwiſe than threatning of War, which it was hoped might have been prevented, as heretofore it had been, when things ſeemed to look with as bad face as then they did. However the Governor and Council of *Plimouth*, underſtanding that *Philip* continued in his reſolution, and manifeſted no inclination to peace, they immediately ſent up what Forces they could to ſecure the Towns thereabouts, and make reſiſtance as occaſion might be; and alſo diſpatched away Meſſengers to the *Maſſachuſets* Governour and Council, letting them know the ſtate of things about *Mount-hope*: and deſiring their ſpeedy aſſiſtance: upon which, care was immediately taken with all expedition to ſend ſuch ſupplies as were deſired: But in the mean time two Meſſengers were diſpatched to *Philip*, to try whether he could not be diverted from his bloody enterprize, ſo to have prevented the miſchief ſince fallen out, hoping, that as once before, *viz.* Anno 1671, by their mediation, a ſtop was put to the like Tragedy; ſo the preſent War might by the ſame means have been now turned aſide. For in the ſaid year, *Philip* had firmly engaged himſelf, when he was at *Boſton*, not to quarrel with *Plimouth* until he had firſt addreſſed himſelf to the *Maſſachuſets* for advice and approbation: But the two Meſſengers aforeſaid, finding the men ſlain in the Road, *June* 24, as they were going for the Chyrurgeon, apprehended it not ſafe to proceed any further, conſidering alſo, that a peace now could not honourably be concluded after ſuch barbarous outrages committed upon ſome of the neighbour Colony: Wherefore, returning with all ſpeed to *Boſton*, the *Maſſachuſet* Forces were diſpatched away with all imaginable haſte, as the exigent of the matter did require, ſome of them being then upon, or ready for their March, the reſt were ordered to follow after, as they could be raiſed. The ſending forth of which, becauſe it was the firſt engagement in any warlike preparations againſt the *Indians*, ſhall be more particularly declared.

On the 26th of *June* a Foot-Company under Capt. *Daniel Henchman*, with a Troop under Capt. *Thomas Prentice*, were ſent out of *Boſton* toward *Mount Hope*; it being late in the afternoon before they began to March, the central Eclipſe of the Moon in *Capric.* hapned in the evening before they came up to *Naponſet River*, about twenty miles from *Boſton*, which occaſioned them to make an halt, for a little repaſt, till the moon recovered her light again. Some melancholy Fanciers would not be perſwaded, but that the Eclipſe falling out at that inſtant of time,

was ominous, conceiving alſo that in the centre of the Moon they diſcerned an unuſual black ſpot, not a little reſembling the ſcalp of an *Indian:* As ſome others not long before, imagined they ſaw the form of an *Indian Bow*, accounting that likewiſe ominous (although the miſchief following was done by Guns, not by Bows) both the one and the other, might rather have thought of what *Marcus Craſſus*, the *Roman* General, going forth with an Army againſt the *Parthians*, once wiſely replied to a private Souldier, that would have diſſwaded him from marching that time, becauſe of an Eclipſe of the Moon in *Capricorn* [*That he was more afraid of Sagitarius than of Capricornus*] meaning the Arrows of the *Parthians* (accounted very good Archers) from whom, as things then fell out, was his greateſt danger. But after the Moon had waded through the dark ſhadow of the Earth, and borrowed her Light again, by the help thereof the two Companies marched on toward *Woodcocks* Houſe, thirty miles from *Boſton*, where they arrived next morning; and there retarded their motion till the afternoon, in hope of being overtaken by a company of Voluntiers, under the Command of Captain *Samuel Moſely*, which accordingly came to paſs; ſo as on *June* 28 they all arrived at *Swanzy*, where by the advice of Captain *Cudworth* the Commander in chief of *Plimouth* Forces, they were removed to the Head Quarters, which for that time were appointed at Mr. *Miles* his houſe, the Miniſter of *Swanzy*, within a quarter of a mile of the Bridg leading into *Philips* Lands. They arriving there ſome little time before night, twelve of the Troopers unwilling to looſe time, paſſed over the Bridg, for diſcovery into the Enemies Territories, where they found the rude welcome of eight or ten *Indians* firing upon them out of the Buſhes, killing one *William Hammond*, wounding Corporal *Belcher*, his Horſe being alſo ſhot down under him; the reſt of the ſaid Troopers having diſcharged upon thoſe *Indians* that ran away after their firſt ſhot, carried off their two dead and wounded Companions, and ſo retired to the main Guard for that night, pitching in a Barricado about Mr. *Miles* his houſe. The Enemy thought to have braved it out by a bold aſſault or two at the firſt; but their hearts ſoon began to fail them when they perceived the *Maſſachuſets* & *Plimouth*-Forces both engaged againſt them: for the next morning they ſhouted twice or thrice, at half a miles diſtance, and nine or ten of them ſhewing themſelves on this ſide the Bridg: our Horſemen with the whole body of the Privateers under Captain *Moſely*, not at all daunted by ſuch kind of Alarms, nor willing ſo to loſe the Bridg, ran violently down upon them over the ſaid Bridg, purſuing them a mile and quarter on the other ſide: Enſign

Savage

Savage, that young Martial Spark, scarce twenty years of age, had at that time one bullet lodged in his Thigh, another shot through the brim of his Hat, by ten or twelve of the Enemy discharging upon him together, while he bodly held up his Colours in the Front of his Company; but the weather not suffering any further action at that time, those that were thus far advanced, were compelled to retreat back to the main Guard, having first made a shot upon the *Indians* as they ran away into a Swamp near by, whereby they killed five or six of them, as was understood soon after at *Narbaganset*: This resolute charge of the English-Forces upon the Enemy made them quit their place on *Mount-hope* that very night, where *Philip* was never seen after, till the next year, when he was by a divine Mandate sent back, there to receive the reward of his wickedness where he first began his mischief. The next day Major *Savage* (that was to command in chief over the *Massachuset* Forces, being come up with other Supplies about six a clock over night) the whole Body intended to march into *Mount Hope*, and there beat up the Enemies quarters, or give him Battel, if he durst abide it: but the weather being doubtful, our Forces did not march till near noon, about which time they set out, with a Troop of Horse in each wing, to prevent the danger of the Enemies Ambuscadoes; after they had marched about a mile and half, they passed by some Houses newly burned: not far off one of them they found a Bible newly torn, and the leaves scattered about by the Enemy, in hatred of our Religion therein revealed; two or three miles further they came up with some Heads, Scalps, and Hands cut off from the bodies of some of the English, and stuck upon Poles near the Highway, in that barbarous and inhumane manner bidding us Defiance; the Commander in chief giving Order that those monuments of the Enemies cruelty should be taken down, and buried: the whole body of the Forces still marched on, two miles further, where they found divers Wigwams of the Enemy, amongst which were many things scattered up and down, arguing the hasty flight of the Owners; half a mile further, as they passed through many Fields of stately Corn, they found *Philips* own Wigwam; every place giving them to perceive the Enemies hasty departure from thence; after they had marched two miles further they came to the Sea side, yet in all this time meeting with no *Indians*, nor any sign of them, unless of their flight to some other places. The season like to prove very tempestuous, and rainy, Captain *Cudworth* with some of the men of *Plimouth* passed over to *Road-Island*. The Forces under Major *Savage* were forced to abide all night in the open Field, without any shelter, notwithstanding the abundance of rain that

fell; and in the morning, deſpairing to meet with any Enemy on *Mount-Hope*, they retreated back to their Quarters at *Swanzy*, in the way meeting with many *Indian* dogs, that ſeemed to have loſt their Maſters. That night Captain *Prentice* his Troop for conveniency of Quarters, as alſo for diſcovery, was diſmiſſed to lodg at *Seaconke* or *Rehoboth*, a Town within ſix mile of *Swanzy*. As they returned back in the morning, Captain *Prentice* divided his Troop, delivering one half to Lieutenant *Oakes*, and keeping the other himſelf, who as they rode along, eſpyed a company of *Indians* burning an houſe; but could not purſue them by reaſon of ſeveral Fences, that they could not go over till the *Indians* had eſcaped into a Swamp. Thoſe with Lieutenant *Oaks* had the like diſcovery, but with better ſucceſs, as to the advantage of the ground, ſo as purſuing of them upon a plain, they ſlew four or five of them in the Chaſe, whereof one was known to be *Thebe*, a Sachem of *Mount-Hope*, another of them was a chief Councellor of *Philips*; yet in this attempt the Lieutenant loſt one of his company, *John Druce* by name, who was mortally wounded in his bowels, whereof he ſoon after died, to the great grief of his companions. After the ſaid Troop came up to the Head-Quarters at *Swanzy*, they underſtood from Captain *Cudworth* that the Enemy were diſcovered upon *Pocaſſet*, another neck of Land lying over an Arm of the Sea, more towards *Cape Cod*: However, it was reſolved that a more narrow ſearch ſhould be made after them, both upon *Mount-Hope*, and upon the ground between *Swanzy* and *Rehoboth* to ſcour the ſwamps, and aſſault them, if they could find where they were entrenched. Captain *Henchman*, and Captain *Prentice*, were ordered to ſearch the Swamps; while Captain *Moſely*, and Captain *Page* with his Dragoons attending on Major *Savage*, ſhould return back into *Mount-Hope*, that they might be ſure to leave none of the Enemy behind them, when they ſhould remove to purſue them elſewhere.

About ten a clock the next Morning, *July* 4, Captain *Henchman* after a long and tedious March, came to the Head-Quarters, and informed that he came upon a place where the Enemy had newly been that night, but were eſcaped out of his reach: But that night before they were determined of any other motion, Captain *Hutchinſon* came up from *Boſton* with new Orders for them to paſs into *Narhaganſet*, to treat with the Sachems there, and if it might be, to prevent their joyning with *Philip*. Capt. *Cudworth*, by this time was come up to the Head-Quarters, having left a Gariſon of forty men upon *Mount-hope* Neck. The next morning was ſpent in conſultation how to carry on the Treaty; it was then reſolved that they ſhould go to make a peace with a Sword in their hands

hands, having no ſmall ground of ſuſpicion that the ſaid *Narhaganſets* might joyn with the Enemy; wherefore, they thought it neceſſary to carry all the *Maſſachuſets* Forces over into the *Narhaganſet* Country, to fight them, if there ſhould be need; Captain *Moſely* paſſed over by water to attend Captain *Hutchinſon* in his diſpatch; the other Companies with the Troopers riding round about: as they paſſed, they found the *Indians* in *Pophams* Country (next adjoyning to *Philips* Borders) all fled, and their Wigwams without any people in them.

After they came to the *Narhaganſet* Sachems, three or four days were ſpent in a treaty, after which a peace was concluded on ſundry Articles between the Meſſengers of *Connecticut* Colony (who were ordered to meet with thoſe of the *Maſſachuſets*) and the Commanders of the Forces ſent againſt *Philip*: Hoſtages were alſo given by the ſaid *Narhaganſets* for the performance of the agreement. A Copy of the ſaid Agreement, and the Articles on which a Peace was concluded, here follow. It being always underſtood, that *Plimouth* Colony was included in the ſaid Agreement, although their Forces were not then preſent, but remained at home near the Enemies Borders, to ſecure their Towns, and oppoſe *Philip* as there might be occaſion, if he offered to make any new attempt in the mean time.

A *Articles, Covenants and Agreements had, made and concluded by and between Major* Thomas Savage, *Captain* Edward Hutchinſon, *and Mr.* Joſeph Dudley, *in behalf of the* Government *of the* Maſſachuſets Colony, *and Major* Wait Winthrop, *and Mr.* Richard Smith *on behalf of* Connecticut Colony *on the one party, and* Agamaug, Wompſh, *alias* Corman, Taitſon, Tawageſon, *Councellors and Attornies to* Canonicus; Ninigret, Mataoag, *old Queen* Quaiapen, Quananſhit & Pompham *the ſix preſent* Sachims *of the whole* Narhaganſet *Country on the other party, referring to ſeveral differences and troubles lately riſen between them; and for a final concluſion of ſetled Peace and Amity between the ſaid* Sachims, *their Heirs and Succeſſors for ever, and the* Governours *of the ſaid* Maſſachuſets, *and* Connecticut, *and their* Succeſſors *in the ſaid* Governments *for ever.*

1. *That all and every of the ſaid* Sachims *ſhall from time to time carefully ſieze, and living or dead deliver unto one or other of the above ſaid Governments, all and every of* Sachim Philips Subjects *whatſoever, that ſhall come*

or,

or be found within the precincts of any of their Lands, and that with greatest diligence and faithfulness.

II. *That they shall with their utmost ability use all Acts of Hostility against the said* Philip *and his Subjects, entring his Lands or any other Lands of the* English, *to kill and destroy the said Enemy, until a cessation from War with the said Enemy be concluded by both the above said Colonies.*

III. *That the said* Sachims, *by themselves and their Agents, shall carefully search out and deliver all stolen goods whatsoever taken by any of their Subjects from any of the* English, *whether formerly or lately, and shall make full satisfaction for all wrongs or injuries done to the Estate of any of the Subjects of the several Colonies, according to the judgment of indifferent men, in case of dissatisfaction between the Offendors and the Offended Parties, or deliver the Offendors.*

IV. *That all Preparations for War, or Acts of Hostility against any of the* English *Subjects, shall for ever for the future cease; together with all manner of Thefts, Pilferings, killing of Cattel, or any any manner of breach of peace whatsoever, shall with utmost care be prevented, and instead thereof, their strength to be used as a Guard round about the* Narhaganset *Country, for the* English *Inhabitants safety and security.*

V. *In token of the above said* Sachims *reality in this Treaty and Conclusion, and for the security of the several* English *Governments and Subjects, they do freely deliver unto the above said Gentlemen, in the behalf of the above said Colonies,* John Wobequob, Weowthim, Pewkes, Weenew, *four of their near Kinsmen and choice Friends, to be and remain as* Hostages *in several places of the* English *Jurisdictions, at the appointment of the Honourable Governours of the above said Colonies, there to be civilly treated, not as Prisoners, but otherwise at their Honours Discretion, until the above said Articles are fully accomplished to the satisfaction of the several Governments, the departure of any of them in the mean time to be accounted breach of the Peace, and these present Articles.*

VI. *The said Gentlemen in the behalf of the Governments to which they do belong, do engage to every the said Sachims and their Subjects, that if they or any of them shall seize and bring into either the above said English Governments, or to Mr.* Smith, *Inhabitants of* Narhaganset, Philip Sachim *alive, he or they so delivering, shall receive for their pains,* for Trucking-cloth Coats; *in case they bring his Head, they shall have* twenty *like good* Coats *paid them: for every living Subject of said* Philips *so delivered, the deliverer shall receive two Coats, and for ever Head one Coat, as a Gratuity for their service herein, making it appear to satisfaction, that the Heads or Persons are belonging to the Enemy, and that they are of their seizure.*

VII. *The*

VII. *The said* Sachims *do renew and confirm unto the English Inhabitants or others, all former Grants, Sails, Bargains or Conveyances of Lands, Meadows, Timber, Grass, Stones, or whatsoever else the English have heretofore bought or quietly possessed and enjoyed, to be unto them, and their Heirs, and Assigns for ever; as also all former Articles made with the Confederate Colonies.*

Lastly, *The said Councellors and Attorneys do premeditately, seriously, and upon good advice, Covenant, Conclude and Agree all above said solemnly, and call God to witness they are, and shall remain true Friends to the English Government, and perform the above said Articles punctually, using their utmost endeavour, care and faithfulness therein: In witness whereof they have set their Hands and Seals.* Petaquanscot *July* 15. 1675.

Signed, Sealed and Delivered in the presence of us underwritten, being carefully Interpreted to the said *Indians* before Sealing.

Daniel Henchman.
Thomas Prentice.
Nicholas Paige.
Joseph Stanton Interpreter.
Henry Hawlaws.
Pecot Bukuw.
Job Neff.

Tawageson his mark C.
Taytson his mark D.
Agamaug his mark T.
Wampsh, alias *Corman* his mark X.

During this Treaty of peace with the *Narhaganscts*, Captain *Cudworth* with the Forces of *Plimouth* under his Command, found something to do nearer home, though of another nature as it proved, *&c.* to make War whilst the other were (as they thought) making peace: in the first place therefore he dispatched Captain *Fuller* (joyning Lieutenant *Church* together with him in Commission) with fifty in his Company to *Pocasset*, on the same account, as the other went to *Narhaganset*, either to conclude a Peace with them, if they would continue Friends, and give Hostages for the confirmation thereof, or fight them if they should declare themselves Enemies, and join with *Philip*; himself intending to draw down his Forces to *Rehoboth*, to be ready for a speedy March to *Taunton*, and so down into the other side of the Country; upon the news that some of the Enemy were burning and spoiling of *Middleburrough* and *Dartmouth*, two small Villages lying in the way betwixt

betwixt *Pocaſſet* and *Plimouth*. Upon Thurſday *July* 7, Captain *Fuller* with Captain *Church* went into *Pocaſſet* to ſeek after the Enemy, or elſe as occaſion might ſerve, to treat with thoſe *Indians* at *Pocaſſet*, with whom Mr. *Church* was very well acquainted, always holding good correſpondence with them: After they had ſpent that day and moſt of the night, in traverſing the ſaid *Pocaſſet Neck*, and Watching all night in an Houſe which they found there, yet could hear no tidings of any *Indians*; inſomuch that Captain *Fuller* began to be weary of his deſign: Mr *Church* in the mean while aſſuring him, that they ſhould find *Indians* before it were long: yet for greater expedition they divided their company, Captain *Fuller* taking down toward the Sea-ſide, where it ſeems after ſome little skirmiſhing with them, wherein one man only received a ſmall Wound, he either ſaw or heard too many *Indians* for himſelf and his Company to deal with, which made him and them betake themſelves to an Houſe near the Water-ſide, from whence they were fetched off by a Sloop before night to *Road-Iſland*. Captain *Church* (for ſo may he well be ſtiled after this time) marched further into the *Neck*, imagining that if there were *Indians* in the *Neck*, they ſhould find them about a peas-field not far off; as ſoon as ever they came near the ſaid Field, he eſpied two *Indians* in the peaſe, who alſo had at the ſame time eſpied him, and preſently making ſome kind of ſhout, a great number of *Indians* came about the Field, purſuing the ſaid Capt. *Church* and his men in great numbers to the ſea-ſide: there being not above fifteen with *Church*, yet ſeven or eight ſcore of the *Indians* purſuing after them. Now was a fit time for this young Captain and his ſmall company to handſel their valour upon this great rout of *Indians*, juſt ready to devour them: But Victory ſtands no more in the number of Soldiers, than Verity in the plurality of voices: And although ſome of theſe fifteen had ſcarce courage enough for themſelves, yet their Captain had enough for himſelf, and ſome to ſpare for his Friends, which he there had an opportunity of improving to the full. When he ſaw the hearts of any of his followers to fail, he would bid them be of good courage and fight ſtoutly, and (poſſibly by ſome divine impreſſion upon his heart) aſſured them not a bullet of the Enemy ſhould hurt any one of them; which one of the Company, more diſmayed than the reſt, could hardly believe, till he ſaw the proof of it in his own perſon; for the Captain perceiving the man was not able to fight, made him gather Rocks together for a kind of ſhelter and Baricado for the reſt, that muſt either of neceſſity fight or fall by the Enemies. It chanced as this faint-hearted Soldier had a flat ſtone in his arms, and was carrying it to the ſhelter that he was making

upon

upon the Bank, a bullet of the Enemy was thus warded from his Body, by which he muſt elſe have periſhed, which experience put new life into him, ſo as he followed his buſineſs very manfully afterward; inſomuch that they defended themſelves under a ſmall ſhelf haſtily made up all that afternoon, not one being either ſlain or wounded, yet it was certainly known that they killed at leaſt fifteen of their Enemies: and at the laſt, when they had ſpent all their Ammunition, and made their Guns unſerviceable by often firing, they were fetched all off by Capt. *Goldings* Sloop, and carried ſafe to *Road-Iſland* in deſpight of all their Enemies; yea, ſuch was the bold and undaunted courage of this Champion Capt. *Church*, that he was not willing to leave any token behind of their flying for want of courage, that in the face of his Enemies he went back to fetch his Hat, which he had left at a Spring, whither the extream heat of the vveather, and his labour in fighting had cauſed him to repair for the quenching of his thirſt an hour or two before. It ſeems in the former part of the ſame day, five men coming from *Road-Iſland*, to look up their Cattel upon *Pocaſſet-Neck*, were aſſaulted by the ſame *Indians*, and one of the five was Capt. *Churches* Servant, vvho had his Leg broke in the Skirmiſh, the reſt hardly eſcaping with their lives: this was the firſt time that ever any miſchief was done by the *Indians* upon *Pocaſſet-Neck*. Thoſe of *Road-Iſland* were hereby Alarmed to look to themſelves, as well as the reſt of the Engliſh of *Plimouth*, or the *Maſſachuſets-Colony*.

This Aſſault rather heightned and increaſed, than daunted the courage of Capt. *Church*; for not making a cowardly flight, but a fair retreat, which providence offered him by the Sloop aforeſaid, after his Ammunition was ſpent, he did not ſtay long at *Road-Iſland*, but haſted over to the *Maſſachuſet* Forces, and borrowing three files of Men of Capt. *Henchman* with his Lieutenant, Mr. *Church* and he returned again to *Pocaſſet*, where they had another skirmiſh with the Enemy, wherein ſome few of them, fourteen or fifteen were ſlain, which ſtruck ſuch a terror into *Philip*, that he betook himſelf to the Swamps about *Pocaſſet*, where he lay hid till the return of the reſt of the Forces from the *Narhaganſets*, like a wild Boar kept at a Bay by this ſmall party, till more hands came up.

Thus were the *Plimouth* Forces buſied, during the time of the Treaty with the *Narhaganſets*, which being iſſued as it was,

On Friday *July* 15, Our Forces marched for, and arrived at *Rehoboth*, where having no intelligence of the Enemy nearer than a great Swamp on *Pocaſſet*, eighteen miles from *Taunton*; they marched next day twelve miles to an Houſe at *Matapoiſet* (a ſmall Neck of Land in the bottom

of *Taunton-Bay*, in the mid-way between *Mount-hope* and *Pocaſſet-Neck*,) from whence they marched for *Taunton*, *July* 17, whither after a tedious March of twenty miles they came in the evening, and found the People generally gathered into eight Gariſon-Houſes:

On Monday *July* 18, they marched eighteen miles before they could reach the Swamp where the Enemy was lodged: as ſoon as ever they came to the place, *Plimouth* Forces being now joined with them, our Soldiers reſolutely entred in amongſt the Enemies, who took the advantage of the thick under-wood, to make a ſhot at them that firſt entred, whereby five were killed outright, ſeven more wounded, ſome of whoſe wounds proved mortal: After the firſt ſhot, the Enemy preſently retired deeper into the Swamp, deſerting their Wigwams (about an hundred in all) newly made of green Barks, ſo as they would not burn: in one of them they found an old man, who confeſſed that *Philip* had been lately there: having ſpent ſome time in ſearcing the Swamp, and tired themſelves to no purpoſe (yet it was ſaid, one half hour more would have at that time utterly ſubdued *Philip* and all his power), the Commander in chief (night drawing on apace) not thinking it ſafe to tarry longer in ſo dangerous a place (where every one was in as much danger of his fellows as of his foes, being ready to fire upon every Buſh they ſee move (ſuppoſing *Indians* were there) ordered a Retreat to be ſounded, that they might have time to diſpoſe of their dead and wounded men, which accordingly was attended: *Plimouth* Forces who had entred the rear, retreating in the front. It was judged, that the Enemy being by this means brought into a Pound, it would be no hard matter to deal with them, and that it would be needleſs charge to keep ſo many Companies of Soldiers together to wait upon ſuch an inconſiderable Enemy, now almoſt as good as taken: whereupon moſt of the Companies belonging to the *Maſſachuſets* were drawn off, only Capt. *Henchman* with an hundred Foot being left there, together with *Plimouth* Forces, to attend the Enemies motion, being judged ſufficient for that end. Major *Savage*, Capt. *Paige*, with Capt. *Moſely* and their Companies, returned to *Boſton*: Capt. *Prentice* with his Troop were ordered toward *Mendham*, where it ſeems, about the middle of *July*, ſome *Indians*, wiſhing well to *Philip*'s deſign, had made an aſſault upon ſome of the Inhabitants, as they were at their labour in the Field, killing five or ſix of them: as ſoon as they had done, flying away into the Woods, ſo as they could not eaſily be purſued: The Inhabitants of the ſame Village, lying ſo in the heart of the Enemies Country, began to be diſcouraged, ſo as within a little time after they forſook the place, abandoning their Houſes to the fury of the

the Enemy, which by them were ſoon after turned into aſhes. But to return to King *Philip*, who was now lodged in the great Swamp upon *Pocaſſet-Neck* of ſeven miles long: Capt. *Henchman* and the *Plimouth* Forces kept a diligent eye upon the Enemy, but were not willing to run into the mire and dirt after them in a dark Swamp, being taught by late experience how dangerous it is to fight in ſuch diſmal Woods, when their eyes were muffled with the leaves, and their arms pinioned with the thick boughs of the trees, as their feet were continually ſhackled with the roots ſpreading every vvay in thoſe boggy Woods. It is ill fighting vvith a wild Beaſt in his own den. They reſolved therefore to ſtarve them out of the Swamp, vvhere they knew full well they could not long ſubſiſt. To that end they began to build a Fort, as it vvere to beleaguer the Enemy, and prevent his eſcape out of the place, vvhere they thought they had him faſt enough. *Philip* in the mean time vvas not ignorant of vvhat vvas doing without, and vvas ready therein to read his own doom, ſo as if he tarried much longer there, he knew he ſhould fall into their hands, from vvhom he could expect no mercy: The caſe being therefore deſperate, he reſolved with an hundred or two of his beſt fighting men to make an eſcape by the Water, all paſſages by the Land being ſufficiently guarded by the Engliſh Forces. The Swamp vvhere they vvere lodged being not far from an arm of the Sea, coming up to *Taunton*, they taking the advantage of a low tide, either waded over one night in the end of *July*, or elſe wafted themſelves over upon ſmall Rafts of Timber very early before break of day, by which means the greateſt part of the Company eſcaped away into the woods, leading into the *Nipmuck* Country, altogether unknown to the Engliſh Forces that lay encamped on the other ſide of the Swamp. About an hundred or more of the Women and Children, vvhich vvere like to be rather burdenſom than ſerviceable, were left behind, vvho ſoon after reſigned up themſelves to the mercy of the Engliſh. *Philips* eſcape thus from *Pocaſſet* could not long be concealed after the day appeared, there being much champaign Land through which he was to paſs, ſo as being diſcovered to ſome of *Rehoboth*, the Inhabitants preſently followed him, together with a party of the *Mohegins* (that a little before came to *Boſton*, offering their ſervice againſt *Philip*, and were ſent up into thoſe parts to be ordered by Capt. *Henchman*, but before they came to him were eaſily perſwaded to go along with any of the Engliſh that were engaged in the purſuit of *Philip*). News alſo thereof was carried to Capt. *Henchman*, vvho as ſoon as he could get over with ſix files of men (rowing hard all or moſt part of the day to get to *Providence*) followed after the enemy.

The *Mohegins* with the men of *Rehoboth*, and ſome of *Providence*, came upon their Reer over night, ſlew about thrty of them, took much plunder from them, without any conſiderable loſs to the Engliſh. Captain *Henchman* came not up to them (purſuing them only by the Tract) till the Skirmiſh was over; and having marched twenty two miles that day, was not well able to go any further that night; on the other hand, the Forces that came from *Rehoboth*, and that belonged to *Plimouth*, having left their Horſes three miles off, could not go back to fetch them without much loſs of time; and therefore looking at it altogether bootleſs to go after them in the morning, returned back the next day, leaving Capt. *Henchman* with his ſix Files, and the *Mohegins* to purſue the Chaſe to *Nipſachet*, which he did the next morning. Captain *Henchman*, that he might the better engage the *Mohegins* to march with him thirty miles, gave them half his proviſion, and was himſelf recruited again by the care of Capt. *Edmunds* of *Providence*, and Lieutenant *Brown*, who brought proviſion after him to the *Nipmuck* Forts. Mr. *Newman* the Miniſter of *Rehoboth* deſerved not a little commendation for exciting his neighbours and friends to purſue thus far after *Philip*, animating of them by his own example and preſence: But what the reaſon was why *Philip* was followed no further, it is better to ſuſpend, than too critically to enquire. This is now the third time when a good opportunity of ſuppreſſing the Rebellion of the *Indians*, was put into the hands of the Engliſh; but time and chance hapneth to all men, ſo that the moſt likely means are often fruſtrated of their deſired end. All humane endeavours ſhall arrive at no other ſucceſs, than the Counſel of God hath preordained, that no fleſh might glory in their own Wiſdom, but give unto God the praiſe of all their Succeſſes, and quietly bear whatever miſcarriages he hath ordered to befall them. It appears by the iſſue of theſe things, that although this wound was not incurable, yet much more blood muſt be taken away before it could be healed. But by this means *Philip* eſcaped away to the Weſtward, kindling the flame of War in all the Weſtern Plantations of the *Maſſachuſets* Colony wherever he came; ſo that by this fatal accident, the fire that was in a likely way to be extinguiſhed, as ſoon almoſt as it began, did on the ſudden break out through the whole Juriſdiction of the *Maſſachuſets*, both Eaſtward and Weſtward, endangering alſo the neighbour Colony of *Connecticut*, which hath alſo ſuffered ſomewhat by the fury of this Flame, though not conſiderable to what the other Colonies have undergone.

While things after this manner proceeded in and about the Colony of *Plimouth*, and Commiſſioners of the reſt of the Colonies were conſulting

ſulting and adviſing what was to be done for preventing the miſchief threatned from ſpreading any further, fearing (as indeed there was too much cauſe) that although *Philip* only appeared to make the firſt attempt, yet more either already were, or ſoon might be perſwaded to joyn with him in acting this bloody Tragedy.

It hath been already declared what hath been done for the ſecuring of the *Narhaganſets*: thoſe that were ſent as Meſſengers on that errand, always reported that the elder people were in appearance, not only inclinable to peace, but ſeemed very deſirous thereof, inſomuch as their two eldeſt Sachems expreſſed much joy when it was concluded; but as ſince hath appeared, all this was but to gain time, and cover their treacherous intents and purpoſes, that they might in the next Spring fall upon the Engliſh Plantations all at once, as ſome priſoners lately brought in hath owned and confeſſed; nor have any of thoſe *Indians* with whom the preſent War hath been, ever regarded any agreements of peace made with the Engliſh, further than out of neceſſity and ſlaviſh fear they were compelled thereunto, as may be ſeen by the Records of the united Colonies from the year 1643, to the preſent time, notwithſtanding all their fair pretences; for *Ninigret*, the old Sachem of the *Narhaganſets*, who alone of all the reſt of that Country-Sachems diſowned the preſent War, and refuſed to have any hand therein, yet was it proved to his face before the Commiſſioners, in the year 1646 and 1647, that he had threatned they would carry on the War again the *Mohegins*, whatever were the mind of the Commiſſioners, and that they would kill the Engliſh Cattel, and heap them up as high as their Wigwams, and that an Engliſh man ſhould not ſtir out of his doors to piſs, but they would kill him; all which they could not deny; yet did this old Fox make many promiſes of peace, when the dread of the Engliſh ever ſince the *Pequod-War* moved them thereunto; foreſeeing, as he is ſaid to have told his neighbours, that they would all be ruined if they made War with the Engliſh, as is ſince come to paſs. However the good hand of God was ſeen in ſo ordering things, that the *Narhaganſets* were for the preſent reſtrained from breaking out into open Hoſtility againſt the Engliſh, at that time when *Philip* began: which if they had then done, according to the eye of reaſon, it would have been very difficult, if poſſible, for the Engliſh to have ſaved any of their inland plantations for being utterly deſtroyed. Thus hath God in his Wiſdom ſuffered ſo much of the rage of the Heathen to be let looſe againſt his people here, as to become a ſcourge unto them, that by the wrath of men, praiſe might be yielded to his holy Name, yet hath he in his abundant goodneſs reſtrained the remainder that it ſhould not conſume.

The

The next thing in order to be related, is the calamity that befel the Village of *Brookfield*, which notwithſtanding all the care that was taken, fell into the hands of the perfidious *Nipnet Indians*, as ſhall here in the next place be declared; only as we paſs along to remind the Reader in a few words, what was the iſſue of Captain *Henchmans* purſuit of *Philip*: the *Plimouth Forces* being returned home, as was ſaid before, Captain *Henchman* with his ſix Files of men, and the *Mohegin Indians*, having continued in the purſuit of *Philip* till they had ſpent all their proviſion, and tired themſelves, yet never coming within ſight of *Philip*; the *Mohegin Indians* in their company, directed them to *Mendam*, and then leaving them, returned alſo to their own County. Captain *Henchman* in his march toward *Menham*, or at *Mendham*, met with Captain *Moſely* coming up to bring him Proviſion, and advertiſing him of what ſucceſs he had met withall in the purſuit; they altered their courſe, for Captain *Henchman* was ſent down to the Governour and Council, to know what they ſhould do: they preſently remanded him to *Pocaſſet*, and ordered him to ſtay there if there were need, or elſe to draw off, ſurrendring the the Fort he had been building, to *Plimouth Forces*, which laſt was choſen by thoſe of *Plimouth*; whereupon Cap. *Henchman* returning to *Boſton*, was ordered to disband his men. Capt. *Moſely* was ordered to march to *Quabaog* or *Brookfield*, where he continued a while, the other Captains ſent up for the relief of the People there, and to ſeek after the Enemy in thoſe Woods, and after ſome time ſpent in ranging the Country thereabouts, and not meeting with any of the Infidels, he with his Company came downwards, ſearching the Woods betwit *Lancaſter* (where a Man and his Wife with two Children were ſlain on the Lords-day, *Aug.* 22.) and *Malbrough*, where alſo a Lad keeping Sheep, was ſhot at by and *Indian* that wore a ſign, as if he had been a Friend: the *Indian* was ſuppoſed to belong to the *Haſſanemeſit Indians*, at that time confined to *Malberough*, where they had liberty to dwell in a kind of Fort: The next day the Inhabitants ſent to demand their Guns; Captain *Moſely* acquainted therewith, marched to the Fort, and found much ſuſpicion againſt eleven of them, for ſinging and dancing, and having Bullets and Slugs, and much Powder hid in their Baskets; inſomuch that eleven of them were ſent down Priſoners to *Boſton* upon ſuſpicion that they had an hand in killing the four at *Lancaſter*, and ſhooting at the *Malberough* Shepherd: But upon Tryal, the ſaid Priſoners were all of them quitted from the Fact, and were either releaſed, or elſe were with others of that ſort, ſent for better ſecurity, and for preventing future trouble in the like kind to ſome of the Iſlands below *Boſton* towards *Nantasket*.

About

About this time Capt. *Moſely* was ſent with a Company of Soldiers to ſome *Indian* Plantations up *Merrimack River*, as high as *Penny-cook*, but they found no *Indians* there; thoſe that belonged to the place having withdrawn themſelves from their Native place, that they might not meddle in the preſent quarrel, as is confidently believed, that *Woonalanſet* the Sachim of that Country had reſolved. That Coaſt being clear of the Enemies, Capt. *Moſely* ſoon after was ſent up with his Men to the Towns Weſtward about *Hadly*, if it might be, to ſubdue the Enemy: who a little before, and at that time, was doing all the miſchief he could in thoſe Weſtern Plantations, both by Fire and Sword.

But to return and purſue the Rebellious *Indians*, and keep pace with them in our Hiſtory, though our Forces as yet could never overtake them in the Woods. The Governour and Council of the *Maſſachuſets* were ſenſible of as much danger from the *Nipnet-Indians*, as from the former: they being the Inland part of the Country betwixt the Sea-coaſt and *Connecticut River* Weſtward, and the Towns about the *Maſſachuſets Bay* Eaſtward; whereupon ſome perſons that uſed to Trade with the ſaid *Nipnets*, were ſent to ſound them, and find how they ſtood affected, for which alſo there was the more reaſon, becauſe they were always in ſubjection to the Sachim of *Mount-Hope*, and ſo were the more like to engage in the preſent quarrel, of which there had been ſufficient proof already: When on the 14*th* of *July*, ſome of the *Nipnet Indians* next bordering on *Philips* Country, ſet upon ſome of *Mendham* (a Town ſcituate Northward from *Mount-Hope*, within 36 Miles from *Boſton*), where they killed four or five perſons, which was the firſt miſchief done upon any of the Inhabitants within the Juriſdiction of the *Maſſachuſets*, acted as was ſaid by one *Matoonas*, who was Father to him that had committed a murder ſoon after *Philips* firſt Rebellion, *An.* 1671. The Meſſenger that was ſent thither, brought word back that they found the ſaid *Indians* wavering; the young men very ſurly and inſolent, the elder ones ſhewing ſome inclination to maintain the wonted peace: Soon after, *July* 28, 1675, Capt. *Wheeler* was ſent to aſſiſt, Capt. *Hutchinſon*, with a party of twenty Horſe to treat further about the Peace; who going firſt to *Quabaog* or *Brookfield*, a Town ſcituate about ſixty or ſeventy miles from *Boſton*, in the Road of *Connecticut*, lying about 25 miles from the ſaid River, and not far diſtant from the chief ſeat of the *Nipnet Indians*; the Inhabitants of the ſaid *Brookfield* had been ſo deluded by thoſe treacherous Villains, that they fearing no danger, firſt obtained of thoſe *Nipnets*, the promiſe of a Treaty upon the ſecond of *Auguſt*, whereupon ſome of the chief of the Town riding along unarmed

with

with the ſaid *Wheeler* and *Hutchinſon*, with their party of Horſe until they came to the place appointed; and finding no *Indians*, ſo ſecure were they, that they ventured along further to find the Infidels at their chief Town, never ſuſpecting the leaſt danger; but when they had rode four or five miles that way, they fell into an Ambuſh of two or three hundred *Indians*, laid in ſuch a narrow paſſage, betwixt a ſteep Hill on the one hand, and an hideous Swamp on the other, that it was ſcarce poſſible for any of them to eſcape, eight of them being ſhot down upon the place (whereof three were of *Brookfield*) and three mortally wounded, whereof Capt. *Hutchinſon* was one, Capt. *Wheeler* was alſo near loſing his life, whoſe Horſe was ſhot down under him, and himſelf ſhot through the body, ſo that all manner of hopes to eſcape had been removed from him, had it not been for his Son, who was (by Gods good providence) near or next unto him, being a man of undaunted courage (notwithſtanding his own Arm was broken with a Bullet, yet) with great nimbleneſs and agility of body diſmounting himſelf, ſpeedily mounted his Father upon his own Horſe, himſelf getting upon another, whoſe Maſter vvas killed, by vvhich means they both eſcaped, and were afterwards cured. Much ado had thoſe that were left alive to recover *Brookfield*, which in all probability they had never done (the common Road being vvay-laid vvith *Indians* on every ſide, as was afterwards known), had it not been for one vvell acquainted vvith thoſe Woods, vvho led them in a by-path, by which means they got thither a little before the *Indians*, who quickly came flocking into the Town, with full intent to deſtroy it with Fire and Sword. But by ſpecial providence the Inhabitants were all gathered to the principal Houſe of the Village (there being ſcarce twenty in the Town) before the barbarous Miſcreants came upon them, immediately ſetting fire upon all the dwelling Houſes, with moſt of the other Buildings in the Town, ſave that one into which the Inhabitants were retired, the which they ſeveral times attempted to burn, but were almoſt miraculouſly defeated of their purpoſe by the immediate hand of God. *In the Mount of the Lord it ſhall be ſeen.* For when they had for two days aſſaulted that poor handful of helpleſs people, both night and day pouring in ſhot upon them inceſſantly with Guns, and alſo thruſting poles with Fire-brands, and rags dip'd in brimſtone tied to the ends of them to fire the Houſe; at laſt they uſed this deviliſh Stratagem, to fill a Cart with Hemp, Flax, and other combuſtible matter, and ſo thruſt it backward with poles together ſpliced a great length, after they had kindled it; But as ſoon as it had begun to take fire, a ſtorm of rain unexpectedly falling, put

out

out the Fire, or else all the poor people, about seventy souls, would either have been consumed by merciless flames, or else have fallen into the hands of their cruel enemies, like Wolves continually yelling and gaping for their prey.

Thus was that distressed Company strangely delivered, who have for ever cause to say with the Psalmist, *Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us a prey to their teeth: our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers; the snare is broken, and we are escaped.* For the next night Major *Willard*, by accident hearing of the danger the People were in, came with Forty eight Dragoons to their relief. The occasion which brought Major *Willard* and Capt. *Parker* of *Groton* with Forty six more so timely to their relief, was this: Major *Willard* in pursuance of his Commission from the Governour and Council, was upon *Wednesday*, *August* the 4th in the Morning, marching out after some *Indians* to the Westward, to secure them: just as they were setting forth, some of *Malberough*, who had intelligence by those that were going to *Connecticut*, and forced to return, what distress *Brookfield* was in, and knowing of Major *Willard*'s purpose to go out that Morning from *Lancaster*, sent a Post to acquaint him therewith, which though it did not find him in the Town, yet overtook him before he had gone above four or five miles from the place: whereupon, conceiving it more needful to succour *Brookfield* in so eminent danger, than to proceed further upon his intended design; he altered his course, and marched directly thither, being about thirty miles distant when the tidings were brought him; so he arrived there that night very seasonably, about an hour after it was dark, or else in probability they had all perished before the relief sent up from *Boston* could have reached them, which was not till three days after. The providence of God likewise in bringing in the said Major so safely, as well as seasonably to their relief, was very remarkable. For the *Indians* had subtilly contrived to cut off all relief sent, before it could come at them, by laying Ambushes, and placing their Scouts, at two or three miles distance round the Town: About an Hundred of them were lodged at an house not far off in the way toward *Boston*, to cut off any Succour that might come from thence: but it is supposed they were so intense upon the Project they were about for firing the House, concluding it would without fail take place, that either they did not mind their business of watching, or making such a noise for joy thereof, that they did not hear their Sentinels when they shot off their Guns, at two miles distance. It is said that another party of the *Indians*, let the Major and his Company purposely pass by them, with-

out any oppoſition, waiting for the blow to be given at their firſt approach near the Houſe, then to have themſelves fallen upon their Rear, and ſo to have cut them all off, before the beſieged underſtood any thing thereof. But it pleaſed God ſo to order things in providence, that no notice was taken of them by the Beſiegers, nor were they at all diſcerned by them, till they had made themſelves known to their Friends, and were admitted within the Court of Guard; which when the Enemy had notice of, they poured in their ſhot abundantly upon them, but they were now ſheltered from the danger thereof: only it ſeems their Horſes were expoſed to their fury, ſo as many of them were maimed and killed, as were moſt of the Cattel belonging to the Inhabitants of the place ſoon after. This Honoured Perſon Major *Willard*, continued at *Brookfield* after this famous exploit for the preſervation of the poor beſieged at *Brookfield*, divers weeks, to order ſuch Companies as were ſent up that way for the ſecuring of the Plantations on that ſide of the Country; and not long after he went himſelf alſo to *Hadly* upon the like ſervice of the Country in the preſent War. But after ſome time ſpent in thoſe parts, he returned back to his own place, to order the affairs of his own Regiment, much needing his preſence, and leaving the Forces about *Hadly* under the command of the Major of that Regiment.

But to return to what was in hand before, after the *Indians* underſtood that ſuccours were come in to the beſieged, they fired all that they had left ſtanding for their own ſhelter while they had beſieged the place before mentioned, ran all away into their own dens, in the neighbouring Woods; however it was confeſſed by one of themſelves, that the enemy had Eighty of their men killed and wounded in this buſineſs. But ere we paſs any further in purſuit of the Hiſtory of theſe matters, it will not be amiſs to let the Reader underſtand the horrible perfidious and treacherous dealing of theſe *Nipnet Indians*, who of all other had the leaſt reaſon as to any pretence of injury, yet did moſt deceitfully and barbarouſly joyn with *Philip* and his *Indians*, after they had been ſeveral times ſent unto by the Governour and Council of the *Maſſachuſets*, by the advice of *Plimouth*, to have prevented their Riſing as well as the riſing of the *Narhaganſets*, and alſo had faithfully promiſed not to meddle in the quarrel, as may more fully appear by the Engagement under the hands of their Sachims; ſome time before Capt. *Hutchinſon* and Capt. *Wheeler* were ſent up to them, which by reaſon of the haſte and unskilfulneſs of the Meſſengers on that behalf ſent, is not ſo fit for publick view: but the account of it from their return,

under

under their hand and oath, *July* 24. 75, when Lieut. *Ephraim Curtice* ſpake with Five of the *Nipnet* Sachims, four too many to govern ſo ſmall a people: but lying upon the head of the principal *Indian* Territories, they were divided into ſo many ſmall parties, two of whom, *viz.. Sam* Sachim of *Weſhacum*, and *Netaump*, were executed together afterward at *Boſton*. All of them did at that time ſolemnly renew their Covenant and promiſe under their hands to come to *Boſton* to ſpeak further with the Governor, inſtead of which, what they perfidiouſly did againſt Capt. *Hutchinſon* and others, hath already been declared.

Upon the report of this ſad Diſaſter that befel the Inhabitants of *Brookfield*, Forces were ſent up under the Command of Capt. *Lothrop* and others, to purſue after thoſe *Indians* harbouring about thoſe places, and if it might be, to prevent them from joyning with the *Indians* upon *Connecticut* River, who as yet had not diſcovered themſelves as willing to eſpouſe *Philips* intereſt, but rather made ſome ſemblance to the contrary. There was much time ſpent by Major *Willard*, and ſeveral Companies of Soldiers left under his command, about the *Nipnet* Country, but all to no purpoſe; for partly by the treachery of ſome of the *Indians* that came to their aſſiſtance, that ſeemed to favour the Engliſh, but rather acted in behalf of the enemy, partly by the ſubtilties of the enemies themſelves, who could eaſily by their Scouts diſcern the approach of our Soldiers, and by the nimbleneſs of their feet, eſcape them: Our Soldiers could never meet with any of them, but only by that means driving them further Weſtward, they gathered all the *Indians* they could to their party about *Pecomptuck*, alias *Dearfield*, *Swamſcot*, and *Squakeag*, where were ſome Plantations of the Engliſh newly began, whom they aſſaulted in the next place, and did what miſchief they could upon them.

It is here to be noted, that although that worthy Patriot, and experienced Soldier Major *Willard* hearing of the diſtreſs of *Brookfield* by ſome that were travelling to *Connecticut*, was the firſt that relieved the diſtreſſed people of *Quabaog* or *Brookfield*, yet Major *Pinchon* of *Springfield* alſo by accident hearing of their Calamity, had not only ſent word thereof to *Hartford* (from whom he received a ſupply of five and twenty or thirty Soldiers under Capt. *Wats*) but did alſo ſend a Band of men under Lieut. *Cooper* (who was afterwards villanouſly ſlain by *Springfield Indians*) who with thoſe ſent from *Hartford*, and ſome *Indians* belonging to *Springfield* (ſeemingly forward to help the Engliſh) made up fourſcore or thereabouts; theſe marched down to *Brookfield* the ſame day that Capt. *Lothrop* and Capt. *Beers* came up from the

Maſſachuſets, who having ſpent ſome time in ſearching the Woods about *Springfield*, and finding none of the *Indians*, did the next day march up to a place called *Meminimiſſet* by the *Indians*, where Capt. *Hutchinſon* and Capt. *Wheeler* were aſſaulted, and finding no ſign of any *Indians* amongſt thoſe Woods and Swamps, the Company that came from *Springfield*, left the other Soldiers (who returned to their Quarters at *Brookfield*) and went up themſelves further northward, at leaſt twenty miles from the ſaid *Brookfield*, and finding no track of *Indians* in all thoſe Woods, they returned back to *Springfield*, leaving enough to defend the people of *Brookefield*, and the Gariſon there.

By this it appears, that the *Indians* by this occaſion were driven more weſtward into the Woods between *Hadly* and *Squakeag*, where they ſoon effected their deſign, *viz.* to leaven the *Indians* on that ſide the Country with the ſame prejudice and malice againſt the Engliſh, with which they themſelves were (though without cauſe) imbittered; for in a few days, the device took place amongſt *Hadly* and *Dearfield Indians*, and was preſently put in execution by the ſaid *Indians*, withdrawing from the Engliſh, and aſſiſting *Philip* and the *Nipnets*, to ſpoil and deſtroy all the Towns weſtward, as ſoon after came to paſs: yet at the firſt, ſome of the *Hadly Indians* pretended real friendſhip to the Engliſh, and offered themſelves to fight againſt *Philip*; but the *Mohegin Indians* that came afterward from *Hartford*, began to ſuſpect the Treachery of the other, and told the Engliſh plainly, that no good would be done, while any of that Company went along with them in purſuit of the Enemy; for as was ſaid, they would always give ſome ſhout when they came near the Enemy, as if they ſhould thereby wiſh them to look to themſelves; inſomuch that the ſaid *Hadly Indians* fell into great ſuſpicion with the Engliſh, and for a proof of their Fidelity, they were required to bring in their Arms to the Engliſh, but upon that motion they delayed a little, but that very night they fled away from their dwellings, which was in a Wooden Fortification, within a mile of *Hatfield*, whereby they plainly diſcovered that they had ſecretly plotted to joyn with *Philip*'s Party, as far as they had an opportunity to do them any eminent ſervice: ſome think the Engliſh failed in point of prudence, not managing that buſineſs ſo warily as they might, which if they had done, their defection had been prevented; but it is moſt probable that *Philip* had hired them to own his quarrel, by ſending them gifts in the Spring; and that the body of the ſaid *Indians* were moſt readily inclined thereunto: But the Sachims and the elder ones of them, ſeemed loth at firſt to engage againſt the Engliſh. In concluſion, when they had ſo falſly

falſly left their Dwellings, and were running after *Philip* and the *Nipnet Indians* (at that time harboured in thoſe Woods) the Engliſh were ſo provoked, that were under Capt. *Lothrop* and Capt. *Beers*, that they purſued after them very early the next morning, and overtook them about ten miles above *Hatfield*, at a place called *Sugar-loaf Hill*, and had a ſmall skirmiſh with them, wherein there were nine or ten of the Engliſh ſlain, and about twenty ſix *Indians*: yet the reſt eſcaped, and ſo joyned with *Philip* and his Company; preſently after which accident, they were ſo emboldned, that upon the firſt of *September*, about ſeven days after, they ſet upon *Dearfield*, killed one Man, and laid moſt of the Houſes in aſhes. About two or three days after they fell upon *Squakeag*, another new Plantation, fifteen miles higher up the River, above *Dearfield*, where they killed nine or ten of the People, the reſt hardly eſcaped into the Gariſon houſe.

The next day, this diſaſter not being known, Captain *Beers*, for fear of the worſt, with Thirty ſix men, was ſent up to the ſaid *Squakeag*, with ſupplies both of men and proviſion to ſecure the ſmall Gariſon there; but before they came very near to the Town, they were ſet upon by many hundreds of the *Indians* out of the Buſhes by a Swamp-ſide, of whom Capt. *Beers* (who was known to fight valiantly to the very laſt) with about Twenty of his men, were by this ſudden ſurpriſal there ſlain, the reſt flying back to *Hadly*. Here the Barbarous Villains ſhewed their inſolent rage and cruelty, more than ever before, cutting off the heads of ſome of the ſlain, and fixing them upon Poles near the Highway; and not only ſo, but one (if not more) was found with a Chain hooked into his under jaw, and ſo hung up on the Bow of a Tree, ('tis feared he was hung up alive) by which means they thought to daunt and diſcourage any that might come to their relief, and alſo to terrifie thoſe that ſhould be Spectators with the beholding ſo ſad an object: inſomuch that Major *Treat* with his Company, going up two days after, to fetch off the reſidue of the Gariſon, were ſolemnly affected with that doleful ſight, which made them make the more haſte to bring down the Gariſon, not waiting for any opportunity to take revenge upon the Enemy, having but an Hundred with him, too few for ſuch a purpoſe. Captain *Appleton* going up after him, met him coming down, and would willingly have perſwaded them, to have turned back, to ſee if they could have made any ſpoil upon the Enemy; but the greateſt part adviſed to the contrary, ſo that they were all forced to return with what they could carry away, leaving the reſt for a booty to the Enemy, who ſhall ere long pay a ſad reckoning for their Robberies and Cruelties, in the

time

time appointed: but the ſufferings of the Engliſh were not as yet come to their height: for after they were come to *Hadly*, the Commander in chief taking Counſel with the Officers of the Soldiers, ordered them that were then preſent to Gariſon the Towns about; ſome to be at *Northhampton*, *Hatfield*, *Dearfield*, and ſome to remain at *Hadley* where were the Head-quarters of the Engliſh. But perceiving that little good was to be done upon the Enemy in thoſe parts, it was agreed that what Corn was left at *Dearfield*, being threſhed out as well as they could in thoſe tumults (about Three thouſand Buſhels was ſuppoſed to be there ſtanding in ſtacks) ſhould be brought to *Hadly*, and wait further time to fight the Enemy. It came to C. *Lothrops* turn, or rather it was his choice with about Eighty men to guard ſeveral Carts laden with Corn, & other Goods; the Company under Capt. *Moſely* then quartering at *Dearfield* intended that day to purſue after the Enemy. But upon *September* 18, that moſt fatal day, the ſaddeſt that ever befel *New-England*, as the Company were marching along with the Carts (it may be too ſecurely) never apprehending danger ſo near, were ſuddenly ſet upon, and almoſt all cut off (not above ſeven or eight eſcaping); which great defeat came to paſs by the unadviſed proceeding of the Captain (who was himſelf ſlain in the firſt aſſault) although he wanted neither courage nor skill, to lead his Souldiers; but having taken up a wrong notion about the beſt way and manner of fighting with the *Indians* (which he was always wont to argue for) *viz.* that it were beſt to deal with the *Indians* in their own way, *ſc.* by skulking behind Trees, and taking their aim at ſingle perſons, which is the uſual manner of the *Indians* fighting one with another: but herein was his great miſtake, in not conſidering the great diſadvantage a ſmaller Company would have in dealing that way with a greater multitude; for if five have to deal with one, they may ſurround him, and every one to take his aim at him, while he can level but at one of his Enemies at a time: which groſs miſtake of his, was the ruine of a choice Company of young men, the very flower of the County of *Eſſex*, all culled out of the Towns belonging to that County, none of which were aſhamed to ſpeak with the Enemy in the gate: their dear Relations at home mourning for them, like *Rachel* for her children, and would not be comforted, not only becauſe they were not, but becauſe they were ſo miſerably loſt. (The like miſtake was conceived to be the reaſon of the loſs of the former perſons, ſlain with the ſaid *Lothrop*, purſuing the *Indians* that ran away from *Hadley*, and of the Twenty ſlain with Capt. *Beers* men, who betook themſelves at firſt to their Trees, and at the laſt a few got to their Horſes ſoon after their Captain was

ſhot

ſhot down). For had he ordered his men to march in a Body, as ſome of his fellow-Commanders adviſed, either backward, or forward, in reaſon they had not loſt a quarter of the number of them that fell that day by the edg of the Sword. For the *Indians*, notwithſtanding their ſubtilty and cruelty, durſt not look an *Engliſhman* in the face in the open field, nor ever yet were known to kill any man with their Guns, unleſs when they could lie in wait for him in an ambuſh, or behind ſome ſhelter, taking aim undiſcovered; ſo that although it was judged by thoſe that eſcaped, that there was ſeven or eight hundred *Indians* at leaſt that encountred that Company of eighty of Engliſh; yet if they had kept together in a Body, and fought Marching, they might have eſcaped the numbers of the Enemy, with little loſs in compariſon of what they ſuſtained. For the valiant and ſucceſsful Captain *Moſely*, and his Lieutenant, coming (though too late) to their reſcue, marched through and through that great body of *Indians*, and yet came off with little or no loſs in compariſon of the other. And having fought all thoſe *Indians* for five or ſix hours upon a march, loſt not above two men all that while, nor received other damage beſides eight or nine that were vvounded, which yet were carried to their Quarters at night at *Hatfield*; whereas if theſe had proceeded in the ſame vvay of fighting as Capt. *Lothrop* did in the morning, they might have been ſurrounded, and ſo have been ſerved as the former were: but God had otherwiſe determined in his ſecret Counſel, and therefore that was hid from the one, which was a means to preſerve the other Company.

Other relief alſo was ſeaſonably ſent in, *viz.* a Company of Engliſh, and *Mohegin* or *Pequod-Indians* under the Command of Major *Treat*, who was in the morning marching another way, *viz.* up toward *Squakeag* to ſeek after the Enemy that way, with about an hundred Soldiers, *Indians* and Engliſh; upon whoſe approach the Enemy, pretty well acquainted by this laſt Encounter with the valour of the Engliſh, immediately went clear away, giving Major *Treat* and Captain *Moſely*, who returned to *Dearfield* that night, an opportunity to bury the ſlain the next day. As Captain *Moſely* came upon the *Indians* in the morning, he found them ſtripping of the ſlain, amongſt whom was one *Robert Dutch* of *Ipſwich*, having been ſorely wounded by a Bullet that raſed to his ſkull, and then mauled by the *Indian* Hatchets, left for dead by the Salvages, and ſtript by them of all but his skin; yet when Capt. *Moſely* came near, he almoſt miraculouſly as one raiſed from the dead, came towards the Engliſh, to their no ſmall amazement, by vvhom being received and cloathed, he was carried off to the next Gariſon, and is

living

living and in perfect health at this day. May he be to the Friends and Relations of the rest of the slain, an emblem of their more perfect Resurrection at the last day, to receive their Crowns among the rest of the Martyrs that have laid down, or ventured their lives as a testimony to the truth of their Religion, as well as love to their Country.

This sore defeat of Capt. *Lothrop* and his men, was the more to be lamented, in that (falling out so soon after two other of the like nature) it so emboldned the Enemy, that they durst soon after adventure upon considerable Towns, though well garisoned with Soldiers, and gave them occasion of most insolent Braving the Garison at *Dearfield* the next day, hanging up the garments of the English in sight of the Soldiers, yet on the other side of the River. However it pleased God, who is always wont to remember his people in their low estate, to put such a restraint upon them, that when they passed very near the Garison-house at *Dearfield* (wherein were not left above twenty seven Soldiers) their Captain using this stratagem, to cause his Trumpet to sound as if he had another Troop near by to be called together; they turned another way, and made no attempt upon the House where that small number was; which if they had done with any ordinary resolution, so small an handful of men could hardly have withstood the force of so many hundreds as were then gathered together.

What loss the Enemy sustained by the resistance of Capt. *Lothrop* and his men (who no doubt being all resolute young men, and seeing they should be forced by the hard law of the Sword to forgo their lives, held them at as high a rate as they could) is not certainly known. It hath since been confessed by some of the *Indians* themselves, that they lost ninety six of their men that day. Capt. *Mosely*'s men coming suddenly upon them when they were pillaging of the dead, fell upon them with such a smart assault, that they drove them presently into a swamp, following them so close, that for seven miles together they fought them upon a march, charging them through and through. *Perez Savage* and Lieutenant *Pickering*, his Lieutenants, deserving no little part of the honour of that days Service, being sometimes called to lead the Company in the Front, while Capt. *Mosely* took a little breath, who was almost melted with labouring, commanding, and leading his men through the midst of the Enemy.

The *Indians* gathered together in those parts, appearing so numerous: and, as might justly be supposed, growing more confident by some of their last successes, and the number of our men being after this sad rate diminished; Recruits also not being suddenly to be expected

pected, at so great a distance as an hundred miles from all supplies, the Commander in chief with the Officers, saw a necessity of slighting that Garison at *Dearfield*, imploying the forces they had to secure and strengthen the three next Towns below upon *Connecticut-River*. And it was well that counsel was thought upon; for now those wretched Caitiffs begin to talk of great matters, hoping that by degrees they might destroy all the Towns thereabout, as they had already begun: Their hopes no doubt, were not a little heightned by the accession of *Springfield-Indians* to their party, who had in appearance all this time stood the firmest to the interest of the English, of all the rest in those parts: But they all hanging together, like Serpents eggs, were easily perswaded to join with those of *Hadly* (there being so near alliance between them; for the Sachim of *Spring field Indians*, was the Father of *Hadly* Sachim) not only by the success of their treacherous and blood thirsty companions, but by the same inbred malice and antipathy against the English manners and Religion.

The Inhabitants of *Springfield* were not unsensible of their danger, and therefore had, upon the first breaking forth of these troubles, been treating with their *Indians*, and had received from them the firmest assurance and pledges of their faithfulness and friendship, that could be imagined or desired, both by Covenant, Promises and Hostages given for security; so as no doubt was left in any of their minds: Yet did these faithless and ungrateful Monsters plot with *Philips Indians* to burn and destroy all *Springfield*, as they had done *Brook field* before: to that end they sent cunningly, and inticed away the Hostages from *Hartford*, where they were perhaps too securely watched over, a day or two before: then receiving above three hundred of *Philips Indians* into their Fort, privately in the night-time, so as they were neither discerned nor suspected: yea, so confident were such of the Inhabitants as were most conversant with the *Indians* at their Fort, that they would not believe there was any such plot in hand, when it was strangely revealed by one *Toto* an *Indian* at *Windsor*, better affected to the English, (about eighteen or twenty miles below *Springfield*, upon the same River) and so by Post, tidings thereof brought to *Springfield* the night before; insomuch that the Lieutenant of the Town, *Cooper* by name, was so far from believing the Stratagem, that in the morning himself with another would venture to ride up to the Fort, to see whether things were so or no. The Fort was about a mile from the Town; when he came within a little thereof, he met with these bloody and deceitful Monsters, newly issued out of their *Equus Trojanus*, to act their intended mischief;

they presently fired upon him divers of them, and shot him in several places through the body; yet being a man of a stout courage, he kept his Horse, till he recovered the next Garison-house, his companion they shot dead upon the place; by this means giving a sad alarm to the Town of their intended mischief, which was instantly fired in all places where there were no Garisons. The poor people having never an Officer to lead them, being like sheep ready for the slaughter, and no doubt the whole Town had been totally destroyed, but that a report of the Plot being carried about over night, Major *Treat* came from *Westfield* time enough in a manner for the rescue; but wanting Boats to transport his men, could not do so much good as he desired. Major *Pynchon* coming from *Hadly* with Capt. *Appleton*, and what Forces they could bring along with them, thirty two houses being first consumed, preserved the rest of the Town from being turned into ashes, in which the over-credulous Inhabitants might now see (what before they would not believe at the burning Major *Pinchons* Barns and Stables a few days before, to a very great damage of the Owner) the faithless and deceitful friendship amongst those perfidious, cruel and hellish Monsters.

Amongst the ruines of the said dwellings, the saddest to behold was the House of Mr. *Pelatiah Glover*, Minister of the Town, furnished with a brave Library, which he had but newly brought back from a Garison wherein it had been for some time before secured; but as if the danger had been over with them, the said Minister, a great Student, and an *bellua librorum*, being impatient for want of his Books, brought them back to his great sorrow, fit for a Bonfire for the proud insulting Enemy. Of all the mischiefs done by the said Enemy before that day, the burning of this Town of *Springfield* did more than any nother, discover the said Actors to be the children of the Devil, full of all subtilty and malice, there having been for about forty years so good correspondence betwixt the English of that Town and the neighbouring *Indians*; But in them is made good what is said in the *Psalm*, That, *though their words were smoother than oyl, yet were they drawn swords.*

After some little time spent in garisoning the place, and helping the Inhabitants to secure what they had left, the English Soldiers most of them returned back to *Hadly* their head-quarters; and Major *Pinchon* being so full of incumbrances, by reason of the late spoils done to himself, and his neighbours at *Springfield*, could not any longer attend the Service of commanding in Chief as he had done before; wherefore being according to his earnest request to the Council eased of that burden, Captain *Samuel Appleton* was ordered to succeed in taking the charge

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of the Soldiers left in thoſe upper Towns, by whoſe induſtry, skill and courage, thoſe Towns were preſerved from running the ſame fate with the reſt, wholly or in part ſo lately turned into aſhes. For the Enemy growing very confident by the late ſucceſſes, came with all their fury the nineteenth of *October* following upon *Hatfield*, hoping no leſs than to do the like miſchief to them they had newly done to *Springfield*; But according to the good providence of Almighty God, Major *Treat* vvas newly returned to *Northampton*. Capt. *Moſely* and Capt. *Pool* were then gariſoning the ſaid *Hatfield*, and Capt. *Appleton* for the like end quartering at *Hadly*, when on the ſudden ſeven or eight hundred of the Enemy came upon the Town in all quarters, having firſt killed or taken two or three of the Scouts belonging to the Town, and ſeven more belonging to Capt. *Moſely* his Company: But they were ſo well entertained on all hands where they attempted to break in upon the Town, that they found it too hot for them. Major *Appleton* with great courage defending one end of the Town, and Capt. *Moſely* as ſtoutly maintaining the middle, and Capt. *Pool* the other end; that they were by the reſolution of the Engliſh inſtantly beaten off, without doing much harm. Capt. *Appletons* Serjeant was mortally wounded juſt by his ſide, another bullet paſſing through his own hair, by that whiſper telling him that death was very near, but did him no other harm. Night coming on, it could not be diſcerned what loſs the Enemy ſuſtained, divers were ſeen to fall, ſome run through a ſmall River, others caſt their Guns into the Water (it being their manner to venture as much to recover the dead bodies of their Friends, as to defend them when alive). At laſt, after the burning of ſome few Barns, with ſome other Buildings, the Enemy haſted away as faſt as they came on, leaving the Engliſh to bleſs God who had ſo mercifully delivered them from the fury of their mercileſs Foes, who had in conceit without doubt devoured all: But this reſolute and valiant repulſe, put ſuch a check upon the pride of the Enemy, that they made no further attempt upon any of thoſe Towns for the preſent; but Winter drawing on, they retired all of them to their general Rendezvouz at *Narhaganſet*; where we ſhall leave them for the preſent, plotting their general deſign of accompliſhing their intended miſchief againſt the Engliſh the next Spring.

Our Weſtern Plantations upon *Connecticut River* vvere the ſtage vvhereon were acted the moſt remarkable paſſages of this barbarous War hitherto, which vvas ſoon after removed into many other places of the Country in the Winter and Spring following, whither our diſcourſe muſt in the next place purſue it: There was not any

great matter acted by the Enemy amongſt the Plantations upon the great River during the Winter, after the aſſault made upon *Hatfield*, *October* 19. It is evident, that the body of them returned to *Narhaganſet* upon the approach of the Winter, which ſet in more early than it uſed in other years: where *Philip* did beſtow himſelf in the Winter ſeaſon is not ſo certain; ſome ſay that he repaired further Weſtward, to try his fortune with thoſe *Indians* that lie towards *Albany*, near the *Dutch River*: others more probably conceive that he lay hid in ſome part of the *Narhaganſet-Country*: for though he was not certainly known to be about the Fort at *Narhaganſet*, when it was taken by our Forces in the Winter, yet as ſoon as ever they were driven out of the Country in *February*, he was found amongſt them that did the miſchief at *Lancaſter* in that month.

Some ſtragling parties of them remained about *Northampton*, *Weſtfield* and *Springfield*, ſome time after their defeat at *Hatfield*: ſeven or eight of the Inhabitants of *Northampton* in the end of *October*, venturing to fetch in ſome of their Harveſt that was left ſomewhere out of the Town, were in danger of being ſurprized, having laid their Arms under their Cart, ſo as being deſtitute of means to make their defence, they were glad to flie away with the Horſes out of their Cart, leaving what they were about, to the pleaſure of the *Indians* that aſſaulted. Major *Treat* upon the hearing the Alarm, preſently repaired thither, but could not come time enough to deſtroy any of the Enemy, nor yet to prevent their burning of four or five Houſes, with two or three Barns that ſtood ſomewhat out of the Town. Within a little time after they kill'd three of the ſame Town, as they were at work in a Meadow not far from the Town: they intended alſo to have burned the Mill, but it was too well guarded by two files of Muſquetiers lodged there for the purpoſe, who put them beſide their intent. Six or ſeven of *Springfield* ſoon after going to the Mill at *Weſtfield* that which belonged to their own Town being burned *October* 5*th*), and venturing without Arms, three of them were killed by ſome of the Enemy, who took the advantage alſo to burn four or five Houſes that belonged to the ſaid *Weſtfield*: but by the end of *November* the coaſt was pretty clear of them, unleſs ſome few of them that lay lurking in the Swamps thereabouts all the Winter, doing ſome ſmall miſchief upon ſome out-dwellings of *Springfield*.

The expedition into the *Narhaganſet-Country*, follows in order in the next place to be related; but before we come thither, a little notice muſt be taken by the way, of an unſucceſsful attempt upon the *Indians*

about *Haſſanemeſit*, and *Poppachuog*, whither Capt. *Henchman* was ſent in the beginning of *November*: where alſo Captain *Sill* was ordered to meet him with another Company from *Cambridg*, with intent to have beat up the *Indians* quarters in thoſe parts: they being known to have had an hand in the outrages committed upon thoſe that belonged to *Malborough* and *Mendham*; cutting off the ſcalp of a Millers Boy, who is yet alive.

November 1. 1675, Capt. *Henchman* marched out of *Boſton*, intending to viſit the *Indians* about *Haſſenemeſit*: the third day they ſaw ſome fires of the *Indians*, yet could not meet with them that made them: The 4*th* day they marched to ſome part of the *Indian* Plantations, called *Haſſenemeſit*: the Captain would have taken up his quarters a mile on this ſide, but ſome of his Officers over-ruled him, to whoſe importunity he gave way, and marched a mile further towards the Enemy, and by that means ſaved the Millers youth, taken the week before from *Malborough*; for in the morning very early, as the Scouts were looking out, they ſpyed a Wigwam, where ſome *Indians* that had carried away the youth, had lodged all night in ſome Wigwam near by; when the *Indians* ſaw our Soldiers, they haſted away, and left the *Malborough* youth behind them, who by that means eſcaped their hands. Our men under Capt. *Henchman* marched on to *Poppachuog*, and finding the *Indians* all fled (although they perceived by a Meſſenger accidentally ſent back, that the *Indians* followed them all that way they marched) they came back to *Mendham* to ſettle things in that Town: ſome of the Inhabitants informed them of ſome *Indian* Wigwams about ten miles off: The Captain, with *Philip Curtice* his Lieutenant, reſolved to give them a Camiſado in their Wigwams that night: to that end, they mounted two and twenty upon Horſes, riding up ten miles into the Woods, and when they came near the Wigwams, they diſmounted, and intended preſently to march up and give an aſſault upon them, after they had firſt made a ſhout to fright the Enemy: they ordered one half to follow the Lieutenant, the other to follow the Captain; when they came within a quarter of a mile of the place, their Dogs began to bark, at which they ſtop'd, and by and by marched again, intending preſently to fire in upon them; but the Captains foot ſlipping, he could hardly recover himſelf; when ſuddenly looking behind him, he ſaw no man following of him: the Lieutenant had five behind him, who with thoſe five reſolutely fired on that ſide he was appointed to make the aſſault upon; but they were repulſed by the *Indians*, who firing out of their dens, ſhot down the Lieutenant and another, the reſt preſently ran away to a Fence; the Captain with all

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vehemency urged them to ſtay; they replyed, they went back but only to charge, yet went clear away, by which means, together with the confuſion of the former, ſo much loſs befell the Company, which could not eaſily be repaired: however the Enemy preſently deſerted the Wigwam, and gave our men the next day an opportunity to fetch off their two dead men, and bury them, and ſo with grief and ſhame were conſtrained to return to their quarters at *Mendham*, to whoſe Inhabitants they gave notice of 200 buſhels of Corn belonging to the *Indians*, that might have been preſerved, which for want of hands was loſt by the fire, that the Enemy might not be benefited thereby. It appears by the foregoing paſſage, that the time of our deliverance was not yet come, and that God had further trials to acquaint us with, before he would turn his hand upon our Enemies. But it pleaſed the Lord in mercy ſo to order things, that they themſelves fell into that pit they were digging for others, as ſhall appear more fully in what follows.

The Engliſh Plantations about *Hadly* being for the preſent ſet a little at liberty by the *Indians* drawing off, like Seamen after a Storm, counted it their beſt courſe to repair their tackling againſt another that may be next coming; wherefore the Inhabitants concluded it the ſafer way to make a kind of Barricado about their Towns, by ſetting up Palliſadoes or cleft-wood about eight foot long, as it were to break the force of any ſudden aſſault which the *Indians* might make upon them, which counſel proved very ſucceſsful; for although it be an inconſiderable defence againſt a Warlike Enemy, that hath ſtrength enough, and confidence to beſiege a place, yet it is ſufficient to prevent any ſudden aſſault of ſuch a timorous and barbarous Enemy as theſe were; for although they did afterwards in the Spring break through thoſe Palliſadoes at *Northampton*, yet as ſoon as ever they began to be repulſed, they ſaw themſelves like Wolves in a Pound, that they could not fly away at their pleaſure, ſo as they never adventured to break through afterward upon any of the Towns ſo ſecured.

As for thoſe of *Springfield*, they were now and then Alarmed with a few ſkulking *Indians* lurking about in the adjacent Woods; as once at the long Meadow, where half a ſcore of them were ſeen about an Houſe remote from the Town, who were purſued by a party of the Engliſh toward *Windſor*, and ſo eſcaped; after the Engliſh had made one ſhot upon them, not knowing certainly how many they killed. So at another time, a few of thoſe barbarous wretches kill'd a poor man belonging to *Springfield*, as he was going to his Houſe to look after his Corn on the other ſide of the River; and after they had killed the man, they burnt down

down his house; yet attempted no further mischief upon that part of the Town that had escaped the fury of the Flames, *October* 5. By which it is evident, that all the number of *Indians* that had assaulted them before, had now drawn themselves to their winter quarters, some to the *Dutch River*, but the greatest number of them to be sure were found in the winter at the *Narhaganset Fort*, where we shall leave them for the present, till the Forces of the United Colonies shall fire them out of their nests.

The Soldiers continuing some time at *Hatfield* after this Victory, as we may well call it (for it seems to have given the first check to the rage of the Heathen within the Jurisdiction of the united Colonies, they have been observed ever since to have been on the losing hand, seldom or never daring to meet our Soldiers in the open Field, unless when they have very great advantage as to their numbers, or covert of the woods and bushes: although like some raging Beasts they have done much mischief several times since, when they were ready to expire, or when the pangs of death were coming upon them) our Forces were all called home, save some left for garisoning the Towns thereabouts.

The Commissioners of the united Colonies taking into serious Consideration the present state of things, *viz.* that there were before this time so many hundreds gathered together into one Body, and that there was great reason to fear, if they were let alone till the next spring they might all rise together as one man round about us, and that one Town after another might easily be destroyed, before any help could be dispatched to them. On the one hand the sharpness of the winter in these parts was well weighed, so extream that it might hazard the loss of a Thousand men in one night, if they were forced to lodge abroad in the open Field; as also the difficulty, if not impossibility, of sending any relief to them at any distance, the depth of Snow usually making the ways unpassable for divers months together.

On the other hand it was considered, that if the Enemy were let alone till the next Summer, it would be impossible to deal with them, or find them any where, but they might waste one Company of Soldiers after another, as was seen by the experience of the former year. Considering also that the *Narhaganses*, the most numerous of all the rest, and the best provided of provision of all the other *Indians*, had now declared themselves our enemies, who if they were let alone till the winter was over, we should be unable to deal with so many enemies at once, that could on a sudden, on any occasion, spread themselves like Grashoppers all over the Country.

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It was therefore finally agreed upon by the general consent of all, to fall upon the winter quarters of our enemies, by a more considerable Army (if I may so call it) gathered out of all the three Colonies, and that with all expedition, at furthest not to exceed the tenth of *December* before they should have a Thousand men in Arms ready for the design.

As for the late League made or rather renewed with the *Narhagansets*, it was sufficiently evident and known, that they had all along from the first day when it was confirmed, broken every Article of it, specially in not delivering up the enemies which had sheltered themselves with them all this while, which though they did not positively deny, yet did nothing but find excuses, to defer it one week after another, till at the last they would be excused till the next Spring, upon pretence that they could not before that time get them together. And besides the favouring of those that fled to them, and supplying the whole Body of the enemy with victuals upon all occasions; It was likewise strongly suspected, that in all the late proceedings of the enemy, many of their young men were known to be actually in Arms against us, many of whom were found either wounded amongst them in their Wigwams, or else were occasionally seen returning back, after exploits abroad, to be healed of their wounds at home. Also some of our mens Guns that were lost at *Dearfield* were found in the Fort when it was fired. Therefore all scruples as to the justness and necessity of the war being removed, the only question was, Whether it were feasible and expedient in the winter? The exigent was very great, and the choice very hard: But as *David* when he was streightned with many difficulties at once, chose rather to fall into the hands of God whose mercies were great, though he might be provoked to cause his jealousie to smoak against those of his own heritage for a time; so in this exigent it was generally conceived to be most expedient for the Country, to cast themselves upon the providence of a merciful and gracious God, rather than by delays to expose themselves to the treachery and cruelty of a perfidious enemy.

A War therefore speedily to be carried on in the very depth of winter, being agreed upon, care was taken for supplies, as the difficulty of such an affair so circumstanced did require, though possibly not with so much necessary care, and so suitable provision, as had been desired, if what came afterward to pass could have been foreseen (which peradventure might be the reason things went on so heavily for want of well oyling the wheels) in the mean time a small Army of a Thousand fighting men, well appointed, were ordered by the Commissioners to

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be gathered by proportion out of all the Colonies, of which number the ſhare of the *Maſſachuſets* was to be five hundred and twenty ſeven, the reſt were to be ſupplied out of *Plimouth* and *Connecticut* Colonies. All other ſupplies were taken care for, as well as the ſuddenneſs of the Expedition, and difficulty of the ſeaſon would allow. The ſaid thouſand men, beſide ſome Voluntiers of Indian-Friends, were by the time and place appointed as near as could be had, called together, and a Commiſſion granted to the honourable *Joſiah Winſlow* Eſq; the preſent Governour of *Plimouth-Colony*, a man of known ability and integrity, every way ſo well qualified with courage and Reſolution, as well as prudence and diſcretion, as might have preferred him to the conduct of a far greater Army than ever is like to be gathered together in this part of the world, in this or in following Generations. And indeed, as he was the firſt Governour over any of the united Colonies in *New-England* of them that were born in the place, ſo may he well paſs for a pattern of any of the ſucceeding Race that may come after.

Under him as Commander in Chief, were ordered ſix Companies from the *Maſſachuſets*, under the Command of Major *Appleton*, Cap. *Moſely*, Capt. *Gardener*, Capt. *Davenport*, Capt. *Oliver*, Capt. *Johnſon*; Five Companies from *Connecticut* under Major *Treat*, Capt. *Siely*, Capt. *Gallop*, Capt. *Maſon*, Capt. *Wats*, and Capt. *Marſhal*; Two Companies from *Plimouth*, under Major *Bradford* and Capt. *Goram*.

Under the Governour of *Plimouth* as Commander in Chief in this Expedition, were ſent as Majors of the Forces belonging to each Colony, Major *Robert Treat* for the Forces belonging to *Connecticut*, and Major *Bradford* for thoſe of the Colony of *Plimouth*, and Major *Samuel Appleton* for thoſe of the *Maſſachuſets*, to whom by the honourable Major General of the ſaid Colony were ſix Companies of Foot delivered at *Dedham*, *December* the 9*th*. 1675, containing in number 465 fighting men, beſides a Troop of Horſe under the Command of Capt. *Thomas Prentice* attending upon them. That night they marched to *Woodcocks*, about 27 miles from *Dedham*, The next night they arrived at *Seaconck*; Capt. *Moſely* and his Company went from thence with Mr. *Smith* by water, the reſt ferried over the water to *Providence*.

The next day, *Decemb*. the 12*th* they paſſed over *Patuxet-River*, and then marching through *Pomhams Country*, at night they met with Capt. *Moſely* and his Company at Mr. *Smiths* in *Wickford*, the place intended for their Head-quarters. Capt. *Moſely* in his way thither had happily ſurpriſed thirty ſix *Indians*, one of whom he took along with him as a Guide, *Peter* by name, that was at that time under ſome diſguſt with his

Country-men, or his Sachim, which made him prove the more real friend to our Forces in that Service, wherein he faithfully performed vvhat he promiſed, and without his aſſiſtance our men would have been much at a loſs to have found the Enemy, until it had been too late to have fought them.

Two dayes after, *Decemb.* 14*th*, Five Files of men ſent out under Serjeant *Bennet* and another, upon the Scout, kill'd one man and one vvoman, and brought in four more by one of the clock: the whole Company marched after into ſome of the Sachims Country, where they burnt an hundred and fifty Wigwams, killed ſeven of the Enemy, and brought in eight Priſoners when they returned at night.

The next day, an *Indian* called *Stone-wall-John*, pretending to come from the Sachims, intimating their willingneſs to have peace with the Engliſh, yet could the Meſſenger hardly forbear threatning, vapouring of their numbers and ſtrength; adding withal, that the Engliſh durſt not fight them: whatever were pretended by this treacherous fellow, ſome of his Crew as he went home, met with ſome of Capt. *Gardners* men, that were ſtragling about their own buſineſs contrary to order, and ſlew his Serjeant, with one or two more. Two alſo of Capt. *Oliver's* men were killed in like manner; a ſolemn warning for Soldiers not to be too venturous in an Enemies Country. For preventing the like miſchief upon other Companies, more care was taken as they paſſed to the Head-quarters, ſome of the Companies being lodged three miles there-from. Capt. *Moſely's*, Capt. *Davenports*, and Capt. *Olivers* Company, being alſo ſent about that time to bring Major *Appletons* Company to the general Quarters: a few deſperate *Indians* creeping under a ſtone-wall near the place, fired twenty or thirty Guns at *Moſely* in particular, a Commander well known amongſt them; but the reſt of the Company running down upon them, killed one of them, and ſcattered the reſt.

The next day, Capt. *Prentice* with his Troop, being ſent to *Petequamſcot*, returned with the ſad news of burning *Jerry Bulls* Gariſon-houſe, and killing ten Engliſh men and five women and children, but two eſcaping in all. This is the chance of War, which they who undertake, muſt prepare to undergo.

The next day brought from the ſame place a little better news, though not enough to balance the ſorrow of the former, *viz.* That *Connecticut* Forces were come thither with three hundred Engliſh, and an hundred and fifty *Mohegins*, ready fixed to War on the behalf of the Engliſh againſt the *Narhaganſets* their mortal Enemies; and by the way meeting a Party of the Enemy, they ſlew five or ſix of them, and took as many

Priſo-

Priſoners. The whole number of all our Forces being now come, the want of proviſion with the ſharpneſs of the cold, minded them of Expedition; wherefore the very next day, the whole Body of the *Maſſachuſet* and *Plimouth* Forces marched away to *Pettiquamſcot*, intending to engage the Enemy upon the firſt opportunity that next offered it ſelf: To the which reſolution thoſe of *Connecticut* preſently conſented, as ſoon as they met together, which was about five a clock in the afternoon: *Bulls* Houſe intended for their general Rendezvouz, being unhappily burnt down two or three days before, there was no ſhelter left either for Officer or private Soldier, ſo as they were neceſſitated to march on toward the Enemy through the ſnow, in a cold ſtormy Evening, finding no other defence all that night, ſave the open air, nor other covering than a cold and moiſt fleece of ſnow. Through all theſe difficulties they marched from the break of the next day, *December* 19, till one of the clock in the afternoon, without either fire to warm them, or reſpite to take any food, ſave what they could chew in their march. Thus having vvaded fourteen or fifteen mile through the Country of the old Queen, or *Sunke Squaw* of *Narhaganſet*; they came at one a clock upon the edg of the Swamp, where their guide aſſured them they ſhould find *Indians* enough before night.

Our Forces chopping thus upon the ſeat of the Enemy, upon the ſudden, they had no time either to draw up in any order or form of Battel, nor yet opportunity to conſult where or how to aſſult. As they marched, Capt. *Moſely* and Capt. *Davenport* led the Van; Major *Appleton* and Capt. *Oliver* brought up the Reer of the *Maſſachuſet* Forces; General *Winſlow* with the *Plimouth* Forces marched in the Centre; thoſe of *Connecticut* came up in the Reer of the whole Body: But the Frontiers diſcerning *Indians* in the edg of the Swamp, fired immediately upon them, who anſwering our men in the ſame Language, retired preſently into the Swamp, our men followed them in amain without ſtaying for the word of Command, as if every one were ambitious who ſhould go firſt, never making any ſtand till they came to the ſides of the Fort, into which the *Indians* that firſt fired upon them betook themſelves.

It ſeems that there was but one entrance into the Fort, though the Enemy found many ways to come out; but neither the Engliſh nor their Guide well knew on which ſide the entrance lay, nor was it eaſie to have made another; wherefore the good providence of Almighty God is the more to be acknowledged, who as he led *Iſrael* ſometime by the Pillar of fire, and the cloud of his Preſence a right way through the Wilderneſs: ſo did he now direct our Forces upon that ſide of the Fort, where

they might only enter, though not without utmoſt danger and hazard. The Fort was raiſed upon a kind of Iſland of five or ſix Acres of riſing Land in the midſt of a Swamp; the ſides of it were made of Palliſadoes ſet upright, the which was compaſſed about with an hedg of almoſt a rod thickneſs, through which there was no paſſing, unleſs they could have fired away through, which then they had no time to do. The place where the *Indians* uſed ordinarily to enter themſelves, was over a long tree upon a place of vvater, where but one man could enter at a time, and which was ſo way-laid, that they would have been cut off that had ventured there: But at one corner there was a Gap made up only with a long tree, about four or five foot from the ground, over which men might eaſily paſs: But they had placed a kind of a block-Houſe right over againſt the ſaid Tree, from whence they ſorely galled our men that firſt entred; ſome being ſhot dead upon the Tree, as Capt. *Johnſon*, and ſome as ſoon as they entred, as was Capt. *Davenport*, ſo as they that firſt entred were forced preſently to retire, and fall upon their bellies till the fury of the Enemies ſhot was pretty well ſpent, which ſome Companies that did not diſcern the danger, not obſerving, loſt ſundry of their men; but at the laſt, two Companies being brought up beſides the four that firſt marched up, they animated one another to make another aſſault, one of the Commanders crying out, *They run, they run*; which did ſo encourage the Soldiers, that they preſently entred amain. After a conſiderable number were well entred, they preſently beat the Enemy out of a Flanker on the left hand, which did a little ſhelter our men from the Enemies ſhot till more company came up, and ſo by degrees made up higher, firſt into the middle, and then into the upper end of the Fort, till at the laſt they made the Enemy all retire from their Sconces and fortified places, leaving multitudes of their dead Bodies upon the place. *Connecticut* Soldiers marching up in the Rear, being not aware of the dangerous paſſage over the Tree, in Command of the Enemies Block-houſe, were at their firſt entrance many of them ſhot down, although they came on with as gallant reſolution as any of the reſt under the conduct of their wiſe and valiant Leader, Major *Treat*.

The brunt of the Battel, or danger that day lay moſt upon the Commanders, whoſe part it was to lead on their ſeveral Companies in the very face of Death, or elſe all had been loſt; ſo as all of them vvith great valour and reſolution of mind, as not at all afraid to die in ſo good a cauſe, bravely led on their men in that deſperate aſſault, leaving their lives in the place as the beſt teſtimony of their Valour, and of love to the cauſe of God and their Country: No leſs than ſix brave Captains fell

that

that day in the assault, *viz.* Capt. *Davenport*, Capt. *Gardner*, Capt. *Johnson* of the *Massachusets*, besides Lieutenant *Upham*, who died some months after of his wounds received at that time. Capt. *Gallop* also, and Capt. *Siely*, and Capt. *Marshal* were slain of those that belonged to *Connecticut* Colony. It is usually seen that the valour of the Soldiers is much wrapped up in the lives of their Commanders; yet was it found here, that the Soldiers were rather enraged than discouraged by the loss of their Commanders, which made them redouble their Courage, and not give back after they were entred the second time, till they had driven out their Enemies: So as after much blood and many wounds dealt on both sides, the English seeing their advantage, began to fire the Wigwams, where was supposed to be many of the Enemies Women and Children destroyed, by the firing of at least five or six hundred of those smoaky Cells.

It is reported by them that first entred the *Indians Fort*, that our Soldiers came upon them when they were ready to dress their Dinner; but our sudden and unexpected assault put them besides that work, making their Cookrooms too hot for them at that time, when they and their Mitchin fryed together: and probably some of them eat their Suppers in a colder place that night: most of their Provision as well as their Hutts being then consumed with fire; and those that were left alive, forced to hide themselves in a Cedar Swamp, not far off, where they had nothing to defend them from the cold but Boughs of Spruce and Pine Trees: for after two or three hours fight, the English became Masters of the place; but not judging it tenable, after they had burned all they could set fire upon, they were forced to retreat, after the Day-light was almost quite spent, and were necessitated to retire to their quarters, full fifteen or sixteen miles off, some say more, whither with their Dead and Wounded men they were to march, a difficulty scarce to be believed, as not to be paralleld almost in any former age.

It is hard to say who acquitted themselves best in that days service, either the Soldiers for their manlike valour in fighting, or the Commanders for their wisdom and courage leading on in very face of death; There might one have seen the whole Body of that little Regimental Army, as busie as Bees in a Hive, some bravely fighting with the Enemy, others haling off, and carrying away the Dead and Wounded Men; which I rather note, that none may want the due testimony of their valour and faithfulness, though all ought to say, *Not unto us, but unto thy name, O Lord*, &c.

For though there might not be above three or four hundred at any time

time within the Fort at once, yet the reſt in their turns came up to do what the exigence of the ſervice required in bringing off the Dead and Wounded men: The Major of the *Maſſachuſets* Regiment, together with Capt. *Moſely*, was very ſerviceable; for by that means the Fort being clear of the dead bodies, it ſtruck a greater terrour into the Enemy, to ſee but eight or ten dead bodies of the Engliſh left, than to meet with ſo many hundreds of their own ſlain and wounded Carkaſſes. The number of the ſlain was not then known on the Enemies ſide, becauſe our Men were forced to leave them on the ground: but our Victory was found afterwards to be much more conſiderable than at the firſt was apprehended; for although our loſs was very great, not only becauſe of the deſperateneſs of the attempt it ſelf (in ſuch a ſeaſon of the year, and at ſuch a diſtance from our quarters, whereby many of our wounded men periſhed, which might otherwiſe have been preſerved, if they had not been forced to march ſo many miles in a cold ſnowy night, before they could be dreſſed) yet the Enemy loſt ſo many of their principal fighting men, their Proviſion alſo was by the burning of their Wigwams, ſo much of it ſpoiled at the taking of their Fort, and by ſurprizing ſo much of their Corn about that time alſo, that it was the occaſion of their total ruine afterwards: they being at that time driven away from their habitations, and put by from Planting for that next year, as well as deprived of what they had in ſtore for the preſent winter. What numbers of the Enemy were ſlain is uncertain; it was confeſſed by one *Potock* a great Councellor amongſt them, afterwards taken at *Road-Iſland*, and put to death at *Boſton*, that the *Indians* loſt Seven hundred fighting men that day, beſides Three hundred that died of their Wounds the moſt of them: the number of old men, women and children, that periſhed either by fire, or that were ſtarved with hunger and cold, none of them could tell. There was above Eighty of the Engliſh ſlain, and a Hundred and fifty wounded, that recovered afterwards.

There were ſeveral circumſtances in this Victory very remarkable.

Firſt, The meeting with one *Peter* a fugitive *Indian*, that upon ſome diſcontent, flying from the *Narhaganſets*, offered himſelf to the ſervice of the Engliſh, and did faithfully perform what he promiſed, *viz.* to lead them to the Swamp where the *Indians* had ſeated themſelves within a Fort raiſed upon an Iſland of firm earth, in the midſt of a Swamp, whither none of the Engliſh could have Piloted them, without his aſſiſtance, the place being near Eighteen miles from the place where they were quartered.

Secondly, Their being by a ſpecial providence directed juſt to a place

 where

where they found ſo eaſie entrance; which if they had miſſed, they could never have made a way through the Hedg, with which they had ſurrounded the Palliſadoes of the Fort in half a days time.

And *Thirdly*, If they had entred by the way left by the *Indians* for paſſage, they might have been cut off before they could have come near their Fortification.

Laſtly, In directing their motion, to begin the Aſſault juſt at the day they did: for if they had deferred but a day longer, there fell ſuch a ſtorm of Snow the next day, that they could not have paſſed through it in divers weeks after: And then on the ſudden there fell ſuch a Thaw, that melted away both Ice and Snow; ſo that if they had deferred till that time, they could have found no paſſage into their fortified place.

All which conſiderations put together, make it a ſignal favour of God to carry them through ſo many difficulties to accompliſh their deſired end. For after they were retired to their quarters, but Sixteen miles from that place, there was ſo great want of Proviſion, the Veſſels being frozen in at the Harbour about *Cape Cod*, that ſhould have brought them relief, and the Froſt and Snow ſet in ſo violently, that it was not poſſible for them, with all the Force they could make (ſo many of their ableſt Soldiers being ſlain and wounded) to have made another onſet: But the goodneſs of Almighty God was moſt of all to be admired, that notwithſtanding all the hardſhip they indured that winter, in very cold Lodgings, hard Marches, Scarcity of Proviſion, yet not one man was known to dye by any diſeaſe or bodily diſtemper, ſave them that periſhed of their wounds.

Our Forces being compelled by the foreſaid occaſions, to lye ſtill ſome Weeks after, hoped alſo that the Enemy ſo ſorely broken, would gladly have ſued for peace: But as was ſaid of old, *God hardned their hearts to their own ruine and deſtruction afterwards.* For as ſoon as our Soldiers were able to March, finding that all the Enemies overtures of peace, and prolonging of treaties, was only to gain time that they might get away into the Woods. They purſued after them, and ſometimes came upon their Rear, but then they would immediately fly an hundred ways at once into Swamps, ſo as our men could not follow them; or if they did, could not ſee two of them together; ſo that now there was little good like to be done, unleſs they could take them at ſome advantage. At length having ſpent all their Proviſion, and tiring themſelves in purſuing of them ſixty or ſeventy miles, up through the Woods towards *Malborough* and *Lancaſter*, Towns that lye in the Road to *Connecticut*, having killed and taken near ſeventy of them, our Soldiers were ordered to return

return towards *Boston*, to recruit themselves, supposing that the *Narhaganset*s, and those with them, were so enfeebled that they would have no mind suddenly to assault any of the English Towns.

If any desire a more particular account of the loss which we sustain'd at the taking of the *Narhaganset* Fort, *December* 19. 1675, they may take it as here it follows.

Besides the six Captains mentioned before, that either were slain in the assault, or dyed afterwards of their wounds, to whom may be reckoned Lieut. *Upham*, that dyed lately at *Boston*, of the wounds he then received.

There were slain out of the Company belonging to	Major *Appleton*	3.	Wounded	22.
	Capt. *Mosely*	9.		10.
	Capt. *Oliver*	5.		10.
	Capt. *Gardener*	7.		11.
	Capt. *Johnson*	3.		11.
	Capt. *Davenport*	4.		15.
	in all,	31.	in all,	79.

There were slain and wounded	Of *New-haven* Company,	20.
	Of Capt. *Siely* his Company,	20.
	Of Capt. *Wats* his Company,	17.
	Of Capt. *Marshal* his Company,	14.
	Of *Plimouth* Company under Major *Bradford* and Capt. *Goram*,	20.
	In all,	91.

If there had not been so great a distance between the place of the Fight and their Quarters, and so much cold attending them in their retiring thereunto, some better account might have been given of that expedition, than now they were able to do. For a March of Sixteen or Eighteen miles is too much to breathe a fresh Soldier, unless he were well mounted, but enough to kill the heart of them that have been wearied with a long and tedious fight. As for the coldness of the weather, although it be a good Besom to sweep the Chamber of the Air (which might be the reason there was no more Diseases amongst them) yet it is an unwelcom Companion to wearied, especially to wounded men, in so long a Retreat.

But the want of Provision falling in conjunction with the unseasonableness of the Weather, and length of the way, hindred our Forces from any

any new attempt upon the Enemy, which if they could have attended, it was thought it might have put an end to our troubles; but he that holdeth the ſcales of Victory in his hand, turneth them to which ſide, and by what degrees pleaſeth himſelf beſt.

The reſt of the Winter was ſpent in fruitleſs Treaties about a Peace: both ſides being well wearied with the late deſperate Fight, were willing to refreſh themſelves the remaining part of the Winter, with the ſhort ſlumber of a pretended Peace, at leaſt with a talk or dream thereof: our Commanders aim therein was Chriſtian and good, if it had proceeded, *ſc.* to have prevented the ſhedding of more blood: And poſſibly ſome of the elder and wiſer of the Enemy, did really deſire what was pretended by them all (for they had now full proof of the valour and reſolution of the *Engliſh*, which ſome of them upon former ſucceſſes might be ready to queſtion) and they could not but ſee their deſtruction already begun, in the loſs of their dwellings, and all their proviſion, as well as the ſlaughter of the beſt part of their fighting men; but either through conſciouſneſs of their barbarous treachery and falſhood, they could not truſt others, and ſo were willing to run the utmoſt hazard, as people hardned to their own deſtruction. The particular paſſages of the Treaty being carried on by the Enemy only in pretence, and by our men (that ſoon diſcerned the fraud) rather out of neceſſity, to conceal their incapacity of engaging them anew, than any real expectation of a good effect, are not worthy the relating. However, though the Foot were unable to do any Service in the depth of the ſnow, and ſharpneſs of the cold, the Horſe was ſent out upon all occaſions to ſcout about the Country, who brought in daily much of the Enemies Corn and Beans, which they had hid in Barns under the ground, or at leaſt kept them from making uſe of their own proviſion, or ſpoiling the Engliſh Cattel; now and then alſo bringing in Priſoners from their Quarters, as they were ſtragling about to get victuals.

On the twenty ſeventh of *December*, Captain *Prentice* was ſent into *Pomhams Country*, where they burnt near an hundred Wigwams, but found never an *Indian* in any of them.

On the 28*th* of *December*, a Squaw was ſent to them, who had been taken in the Fight, with a proffer of Peace, if they would ſubmit to ſuch Terms as were propounded; the principal of which was, The delivering up of all *Philips Indians* that were with them; The Squaw returned not, pretending that ſhe was lame and unable to come again; but the thirtieth of *December*, an *Indian* came from the Sachims with ſeeming thanks for the Peace proffered; yet complained we made War upon them, and gave

them no notice; but his mouth was ſoon ſtopped, by the anſwer vvhich was made him: he owned, as the Squaw had ſaid before, that they loſt three hundred of their beſt fighting men, and ſo did two Priſoners of theirs taken *January* the *4th*, whereof one being of *Philips* company, was put to death. The Meſſenger that was ſent was fairly diſmiſſed, with the expreſs mention of what Terms they muſt expect, if they deſired a Peace.

Jan. 7. There came two Meſſengers from them, as they ſaid, to make way for a Treaty of Peace; who laid the blame upon *Canonchet*, that came down to *Boſton* in *October* laſt, to confirm the peace with the Commiſſioners of the united Colonies, as if he had miſ-informed them, *viz.* That they were not by the former Treaty to have delivered up the *Wompanoogs*, or *Philips Indians*, until the ſaid *Canonchets* Brother, one of the Hoſtages at *Hartford*, was releaſed. This was but a meer pretence, for he and they too, better underſtood the particulars of the Agreement: For by chance, the Articles which they had of the Peace concluded with them, were found open (whether purpoſely or accidentally, was not known) in a Wigwam in the Fort when it was taken, ſo as they could not be ignorant of the Articles of the Agreement.

Jan. 5. An Engliſh child of about three or four years old, taken from *Warwick*, was ſent in to put the better pretence upon the Treaty mentioned.

Jan. 8. The Meſſengers were ſent back, and told what they muſt truſt to. In the afternoon a Meſſenger came from *Ninigret* the old Sachim of *Narhaganſet*, who brought a Letter from Mr. *Stanton* the Interpreter, ſignifying the reality of the ſaid *Ninigret* his Friendſhip to the Engliſh, and the ſtreights of the Enemy; that corn was two ſhillings a pint with them. Yet notwithſtanding all their difficulties, they rather delayed the time till they could get away, than really endeavoured the making a Peace, as was ſoon manifeſt: For that young inſolent Sachim *Canonchet*, and *Panoquin*, ſaid, they would fight it out to the laſt man, rather than they would become Servants to the Engliſh.

Jan. 10. Freſh ſupplies of Soldiers came up from *Boſton*, vvading through a ſharp ſtorm of ſnow, that bit ſome of them by the heels with the froſt. The next day one that came with them, going out with the Scouts, fell amongſt the Indian-Barns, in one of which, as he was groping to find corn for the relief of his Horſe, he catched hold of an *Indians* hair under the leaves, who preſently held up his hands when the Soldier was drawing his ſword, to ſpare his life, which was granted; but after he was brought to the Head-quarters, he would own nothing but what

was

was forced out of his mouth, by the woolding of his head with a cord; wherefore he was preſently judged to die as a *Wompanoog*.

Jan. 12. Another Meſſenger came from *Canonicus*, deſiring the ſpace of a month longer, wherein to iſſue the Treaty, which ſo provoked the Commander of our Forces, that they reſolved to have no more Treaties with the Enemy, but prepare to aſſault them, with Gods aſſiſtance, as ſoon as ever the ſeaſon would permit; and it was high time to take up that reſolution; for within a few days after, they underſtood by ſome that were taken Priſoners, that the Enemy were gone, or going into the *Nipmuck-Country*.

Within a few days after, about *Jan.* 16*th*, the Scouts brought in one *Joſhuah Tift*, a Renegado Engliſh-man of *Providence*, that upon ſome diſcontent amongſt his neighbours, had turned *Indian*, married one of the *Indian Squaws*, renounced his Religion, Nation and natural Parents all at once, fighting againſt them. He was taken by Captain *Fenner* of *Providence*, who with ſome of his neighbours were purſuing ſome *Indians* that had driven away their Cattel. This *Tift* being one of the Company, was wounded in the knee, and ſo was ſeized by the Engliſh; he had in his habit conformed himſelf to them amongſt whom he lived. After examination, he was condemned to die the death of a Traytor. As to his Religion he was found as ignorant as an Heathen, which no doubt cauſed the fewer tears to be ſhed at his Funeral, ſtanders by being unwilling to laviſh pity upon him, that had diveſted himſelf of Nature it ſelf, as well as Religion, in a time when ſo much pity was needed elſewhere, and nothing left beſides wherewith to relieve the Sufferers.

Jan. 21. Capt. *Prentice* his Troop being abroad met with a Party of the Enemy, of whom they took two Priſoners and killed nine, in which exploit, ſomething hapned very remarkable; for one *W. Dodge* of *Salem*, riding in company with another Friend, they hapned to meet with two *Indians*, the ſaid *Dodge* being better horſed than his Friend, made after the foremoſt, leaving his Friend to deal with the hindmoſt; but his Piſtol miſſed firing; whereupon the *Indian* taking him by the leg turn'd him off his Horſe, and getting upon him vvas about killing him with his Knife, which *W. Dodge* by chance eſpied, and came time enough to reſcue his Friend, and diſpatch the *Indian* lying upon him, and yet overtook the firſt *Indian* he was purſuing, time enough to do his buſineſs alſo: by that means he did three good offices at once, ſaved the life of one Friend, and ſlew two of his Enemies. But within two or three days after, the weather much altering from what it was, induced our Forces to take the firſt opportunity to purſue the Enemy, who as they under-

ſtood by Meſſengers from *Providence*, were now upon their flight into the *Nipmuck Country*: But ſo many difficulties were caſt in their way, that they could not be ready time enough to prevent the miſchief they did at *Warwick*, as they took their Farewell of their Country: For,

Jan. 27, They deſpoiled Mr. *Carpenter* of two hundred ſheep, and fifty head of Neat Cattel, and fifteen Horſes; all which they drove along with them, and were gone too far to be reſcued before our Forces ſet out. Two that belonged to the ſaid *Carpenter* were vvounded, and one of the enemies ſlain. As they marched after the Enemy, they found a good Houſe burned, with a Barn belonging to it. They perceived alſo that the Enemy dealt much in Horſe-fleſh, meeting with no leſs than ſixty Horſes heads in one place, which they had left behind them: our Soldiers in their purſuit came upon their Reer, killed and took about ſeventy of them, yet never could come to charge them, for they would preſently betake themſelves into Swamps, and not two of them run together, ſo as they ſaw it was an endleſs work to proceed further in the chaſe of ſuch an Enemy; but our Forces having purſued them into the Woods between *Marlborough* and *Brookefield* in the Road toward *Connecticut*, were conſtrained to turn down to *Boſton* in the beginning of *February*, for want of proviſion both for themſelves and their Horſes, which gave an occaſion to the loſs of thoſe leſſer Towns that vvere deſtroyed by the *Nipnet-Indians*, who preſently joined vvith the *Narhaganſets* upon their firſt approach, as ſhall be related afterwards.

About the tenth of *February* next, ſome hundreds of the *Indians*, (whether *Nipnets* or *Naſhaway*-men is uncertain) belonging to him they call *Sagamore Sam*, and poſſibly ſome of the ſtouteſt of the *Narhaganſets* that had eſcaped the Winter-brunt, fell upon *Lancaſter*, a ſmall Village of about fifty or ſixty Families, and did much miſchief, burning moſt of the Houſes that vvere not Gariſoned: and vvhich is moſt ſad and awful to conſider, the Houſe of Mr. *Rowlandſon*, Miniſter of the ſaid *Lancaſter*, which was Gariſoned with a competent number of the Inhabitants; yet the Fortification of the Houſe being on the backſide, cloſed up with Fire-wood, the *Indians* got ſo near as to fire a Leantoo, which burning the Houſe immediately to the ground, all the perſons therein were put to that hard choice, either to periſh by the flames with the Houſe, or to yield themſelves into the hands of thoſe cruel Salvages; which laſt (conſidering that a living Dog is better than a dead Lion) they choſe, and ſo were forty two perſons ſurprized by the *Indians*, above twenty of the Women and Childrien they carried away Captive, a ruful ſpectacle to behold; the reſt being Men, they killed in the

the place, or reſerved for further miſery: and many of the reſt that were not ſlain in fighting, were killed in attempting to eſcape. The Miniſter himſelf was occaſionally abſent, to ſeek help from the Governour and Council to defend that place, who returning, was entertained with the Tragical news of his Wife and Children ſurprized, and being carried away by the Enemies, and his Houſe turned into Aſhes; yet it pleaſed God ſo to uphold his heart, comforting himſelf in his God, as *David* at *Ziklag*, that he would always ſay, *he believed he ſhould ſee his Wife and Children again*, which did in like manner ſoon come to paſs within Five or ſix months after; all ſave the youngeſt, which being wounded at the firſt, died ſoon after among the *Indians*.

And ſuch was the goodneſs of God to thoſe poor Captive Women, and Children, that they found ſo much favour in the ſight of their Enemies, that they offered no wrong to any of their perſons, ſave what they could not help, being in many wants themſelves. Neither did they offer any uncivil Carriage to any of the Females, nor ever attempted the chaſtity of any of them, either being reſtrained of God, as was *Abimelech* of old; or by ſome other accidental cauſe, which held them from doing any wrong in that kind.

Upon the report of this Diſaſter, Capt. *Wadſworth* then at *Marlborough* with about forty reſolute men, adventuring the reſcuing of the Town that was remaining; and having recovered a Bridg, they gat over ſafe, though the Planks were pulled off by the Enemy; and being led up in a way not diſcovered by them, they forced the *Indians* for the preſent to quit the place, after they had burnt and deſtroyed the better half of it. Yet aftewards it not being judged tenable, it was abandoned to the pleaſure of the inſulting Foe.

Ten days after they were ſo fluſhed with this ſucceſs, that Two or three hundred of them came wheeling down to *Medfield*, a Town twenty miles from *Boſton*, weſtward from *Dedham*, which they ſurprized very early in the morning (and though there were One hundred and ſixty Soldiers in it or more, beſides the Inhabitants) they burnt near one half of the Town, killing about Twenty perſons; but by the reſiſtance of the Soldiers, as ſoon as ever they could be gotten together (it being at or before break of day, none in the leaſt ſuſpecting ſuch an aſſault ſo early) they were quickly forced to forſake the place, and ſo (not without ſome loſs) took their way to *Plimouth* Colony.

The Weſtern Towns above *Connecticut*, were the chief Seat of the War, and felt moſt of the miſchiefs thereof in the end of the year 1675: but the Scene is now to be changed; and the other Towns and the Villages

lages that lye Eaſtward nearer *Boſton*, muſt bear their part in the like Tragedies: for as was ſaid before, the *Narhaganſets* having been driven out of the Country, fled through *Nipnet Plantations*, towards *Watchuſet Hills* meeting with all the *Indians* that had harboured all Winter in thoſe Woods about *Naſhaway*; they all combined together againſt the Engliſh, yet divided their numbers, and one half of them were obſerved to bend their courſe toward *Plimouth*, taking *Medfield* in their way, which they endeavoured to burn and ſpoil, *Feb.* 21. 1675, as their fellows had done *Lancaſter* Ten days before.

The ſurprizal of this *Medfield* in regard of ſome remarkable circumſtances it was attended with, is not unworthy a more particular Relating the manner thereof: the loſs of *Lancaſter* had ſufficiently awakened and alarmed the neighbouring Villages, all to ſtand upon their guard; and ſome had obtained Gariſon-Soldiers for their greater ſecurity, as was the caſe with the Town of *Medfield*, within Twenty two miles of *Boſton*. And at that time were lodged therein ſeveral Gariſon Soldiers, beſides the Inhabitants; yet being billated up &down in all quarters of the town, could not be gathered together till a great part of the Town was ſet on fire, and many of the Inhabitants ſlain; which how it could be effected, is ſtrange to believe: But moſt of thoſe inland Plantations being over-run with young wood (the Inhabitants being every where apt to engroſs more Land into their hands than they were able to ſubdue) as if they were ſeated in the midſt of a heap of Buſhes, their Enemies took the advantage thereof, and ſecretly over-night, conveyed themſelves round about the Town, ſome getting under the ſides of the Barns and Fences of their Orchards, as is ſuppoſed, where they lay hid under that covert, till break of day, when they ſuddenly ſet upon ſundry Houſes, ſhooting them that came firſt out of their doors, and then fired their Houſes, eſpecially thoſe houſes where the Inhabitants were repaired to Gariſons, were fit for the purpoſe: ſome were killed as they attempted to fly to their Neighbours for ſhelter: ſome were only wounded, and ſome taken alive and carried Captive; in ſome Houſes the Husband running away with one Child, the Wife with another, of whom the one was killed, the other eſcaped: they began at the Eaſt-end of the Town, where they fired the Houſe of one *Samuel Morſe*, that ſeems to have been a ſignal to the reſt to fall on in other parts: moſt of the Houſes in the Weſt or Southweſt end of the Town were ſoon burnt down: and generally when they burnt any out-houſes, the Cattel in them were burnt alſo. Two Mills belonging to the Town were burnt alſo: a poor old man of near an hundred years old, was burnt in one of the Houſes that were conſumed

fumed by fire. The Lieutenant of the Town, *Adams* by name, was ſhot down by his own door, and his Wife mortally wounded by a Gun fired afterwards accidentally in the Houſe. After the burning of Forty or fifty Houſes and Barns, the *Cannibals* were frighted away out of the Town over a Bridg that lies upon *Charls River*, by the ſhooting off a piece of Ordnance 2 or 3 times: when they had paſſed over the Bridge they fired one end thereof, to hinder our men from purſuing them; they were thought to be above Five hundred: There were ſlain and mortally wounded Seventeen or eighteen perſons, beſides others dangerouſly hurt. The loſs ſuſtained by the Inhabitants amounted to above Two thouſand pounds. This mercy was obſerved in this ſad providence, that never a Gariſon-houſe was loſt in this ſurpriſal; nor any of the principal Dwellings; ſo as the chiefeſt and beſt of their Building eſcaped the fury of the Enemy, who as they paſſed the Bridg left a writing behind them, expreſſing ſomething to this purpoſe, that we had provoked them to wrath, and that they would fight with us this Twenty years (but they fell ſhort of their expectation by nineteen) adding alſo, that they had nothing to loſe, whereas we had Houſes, Barns and Corn: theſe were ſome of the bold threats uſed by the barbarous crew, but their rage ſhall proceed no further then the counſel of God had determined. The week before was heard a very hideous cry of a kennel of Wolves round the Town, which raiſed ſome of the Inhabitants, and was looked upon by divers as an ominous preſaging of this following Calamity.

Another aſſault was feared, but as ſoon as the Soldiers could be gathered together, they turned their backs, as if they never intended to viſit them more: whither theſe *Indians* went when they left *Medfield* is not ſo certainly known; the Soldiers in the Town not having opportunity to purſue them over the River, by reaſon that the Bridge was part of it burned; but it is moſt probable that they took their way toward *Plimouth*, and continued about that ſide of the Country for the future, waiting opportunities to do vvhat miſchief they could to the Engliſh in thoſe parts: For vvithin a month after this aſſault of *Medfield*, there vvas near ſix hundred of them ſeen about *Patuxit* and *Providence*, vvhere Capt. *Pierce* vvith about fifty of his men vvere loſt, though vvith no great advantage to the Enemy, vvho at that time loſt above double that number: our vvorthy Captains in this and other exploits being called to imitate *Sampſon*, vvho vvas content to dye vvith his enemies, that he might overthrovv them thereby: it having ſo fallen out vvith many of our choice Commanders and Soldiers at *Deerfield*, *Narhaganſet*, *Patuxit*, and likevviſe not long after at *Sudbury*.

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The Governor and Council of *Plimouth* perceiving by the report of theſe outrages committed upon the Townſ of the *Maſſachuſets*, that they were like to be viſited this Spring by their old Neighbours, ſent out Capt. *Pierce* of *Scituate*, about the latter end of *March*, with about fifty Engliſh, and twenty of their Chriſtian Indians about *Cape Cod*, who proved none of his worſt Soldiers, as the ſequel of this his laſt expedition will declare.

Capt. *Pierce*, as is ſaid before, being ſent out to purſue the Enemy, marched towards *Patuxit*, where he underſtood the *Indians* were many of them gathered together: he being a man of reſolute courage, was willing to engage them, though upon never ſo great diſadvantage: ſome ſay the *Indians* by counterfeiting, drilled him into a kind of Ambuſh; poſſibly more of them diſcovered themſelves after he began to engage, than he was aware of: and being gotten over the River in purſuit of them, where he diſcovered ſo great a number of them, he drew down towards the ſide of the River, hoping the better by that means to prevent their ſurrounding of him; but that proved his overthrow, which he intended as his greateſt advantage: for the *Indians* getting over the River, ſo galled him from thence, that he was not able to defend himſelf thus aſſaulted on all ſides; & himſelf not being able to travel much a foot, was thereby hindred from retiring to any better place in time; ſo as he ſaw himſelf conſtrained to fight it out to the laſt; which he did with moſt undaunted Courage, & as is ſaid, to the ſlaughter of an hundred and forty of his Enemies, before himſelf and his Company were cut off. It is ſaid alſo, that being apprehenſive of the danger he was in, by the great numbers of the Enemmy, like to overpower him with their multitude, he ſent a Meſſenger timely enough to *Providence*, for relief; but (as *Solomon* ſaith, *A faithful Meſſenger is as Snow in harveſt: another is as ſmoak to the eyes and vinegar to the teeth*), whether through ſloth or Cowardize, is not much material, this meſſage was not delivered to them to whom it was immediately ſent; by accident only ſome of *Rehoboth* underſtanding of the danger, after the evening exerciſe (it being on the Lords day, *March* 26. 1676) repaired to the place; but then it was too late to bring help, unleſs it were to be Spectators of the dead Carkaſes of their friends, and to perform the laſt office of love to them.

It is worth the noting, what faithfulneſs and courage ſome of the Chriſtian *Indians* with the ſaid Capt. *Pierce* ſhewed in the Fight: one of them, *Amos* by name, after the Captain was ſhot in his leg or thigh, ſo as he was not able to ſtand any longer, would not leave him, but charging his Gun ſeveral times, fired ſtoutly upon the Enemy, till he

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ſaw that there was no poſſibility for him to do any further good to Capt. *Pierce*, nor yet to ſave himſelf, if he ſtayed any longer; therefore he uſed this policy, perceiving the Enemy had all blacked their faces, he alſo ſtooping down, pulled out ſome blacking out of a pouch he carried with him, diſcoloured his face therewith, and ſo making himſelf look as like *Hobamacko* as any of his Enemies: he ran amongſt them a little while, and was taken for one of themſelves, as if he had been ſearching for the Engliſh, until he had an opportunity to eſcape away among the Buſhes: therein imitating the Cuttle-Fiſh, which when it is purſued, or in danger, caſteth out of its body a thick humor, as black as Ink, through which it paſſes away unſeen by the purſuer.

It is reported of another of theſe *Cape Indians* (Friends to the Engliſh of *Plimouth*) that being purſued by one of the Enemies, he betook himſelf to a great Rock, where he ſheltred himſelf for a while; at laſt perceiving that his Enemy lay ready with his Gun on the other ſide, to diſcharge upon him, as ſoon as he ſtir'd never ſo little away from the place where he ſtood: in the iſſue he thought of this politick Stratagem to ſave himſelf, and deſtroy his Enemy, (for as *Solomon* ſaid of old, *Wiſdom is better than Weapons of War:*) he took a ſtick, and hung his Hat upon it, and then by degrees gently lifted it up, till he thought it would be ſeen, and ſo become a fit mark for the other that watched to take aim at him: the other taking it to be his head, fired a Gun, and ſhot through the Hat; which our Chriſtian Indian perceiving, boldly held up his head and diſcharged his own Gun upon the real head, not the hat of his Adverſary, whereby he ſhot him dead upon the place, and ſo had liberty to march away with the ſpoils of his Enemy.

The like ſubtle device was uſed by another of the *Cape Indians* at the ſame time, being one of them that went out with Capt. *Pierce*; for being in like manner purſued by one of *Philip*'s *Indians*, as the former was, he nimbly got behind the But-end of a Tree newly turned up by the roots, which carried a conſiderable breadth of the ſurface of the Earth along with it (as is very uſual in theſe parts, where the roots of the Trees lie very fleet in the ground) which ſtood up above the Indian's height, in form of a large Shield, only it was ſomewhat too heavy to be eaſily weilded, or removed: the Enemy-Indian lay with his Gun ready to ſhoot him down, upon his firſt differting his ſtation; but a ſubtle wit taught our Chriſtian *Netop* a better device; for boring a little hole through this his broad Shield, he diſcerned his enemy, who could not ſo eaſily diſcern him; a good Musketier need never deſire a fairer mark to ſhoot at: whereupon diſcharging his Gun, he ſhot him down: what can be more juſt than that he ſhould himſelf be killed, who lay in

wait to kill another man?——*Neque enim Lex juſtior ulla eſt,*
Quam necis Artifices arte perire ſua.

Inſtances of this nature ſhew the ſubtilty and dexterouſneſs of theſe Natives, if they were improved in feats of Arms: and poſſibly if ſome of the Engliſh had not been too ſhye in making uſe of ſuch of them as were well affected to their intereſt, they need never have ſuffered ſo much from their enemies: it having been found upon late experience, that many of them have proved not only faithful, but very ſerviceable and helpful to the Engliſh; they uſually proving good Seconds, though they have not ordinarily confidence enough to make the firſt Onſet.

But to return to the proceeding of the *Indians* toward *Plimouth*:

Feb. 25, They aſſaulted *Weymouth*, and burned ſeven or eight Houſes & Barns there, which *Weymouth* is a Town lying towards *Plimouth Colony*.

March 12. following, They aſſaulted the houſe of one Mr. *Clark* in *Plimouth*, cruelly murthering eleven perſons that belonged to two Families that lodged therein, and then fired the houſe. The cruelty towards theſe perſons was the more remarkable, in that they had often received much kindneſs from the ſaid *Clark*. It is the uſual cuſtome of ſuch Debtors, to uſe them worſt, of whom they have taken up much kindneſs upon truſt before hand.

March 17. Another party of them fell upon *Warwick*, a place beyond *Philip*'s Land; toward the *Narrhaganſet Country*, where they burnt down to the ground all but a few houſes, left ſtanding as a Monument of their barbarous fury. The like miſchief was acted by them upon the houſes of the Engliſh remaining in the *Narrhaganſet Country*.

This 26 of *March* being the firſt day of the Week, as the firſt of the year after our *Julian* account, ſeemed ominous at the firſt on ſundry accounts, threatning a gloomy time, yet proved in the iſſue but as a louring morning before a lightſome day: For beſides the burning of *Marlborough*, at leaſt a great part of it on the ſame day a very ſad accident fell out the ſame time at *Springfield*, as ſhall be ſpecified hereafter; beſides that which befell Capt. *Pierce*, which is already related, with whom fell ſo many of his Soldiers on the ſame day alſo: yet had the Enemy no cauſe to boaſt, being forced by the valor of the Engliſh, to give ſo many of their own lives in exchange: ſome few made their eſcape, as is ſaid by ſubtil devices: beſides the three forementioned, another by a like ſhift, not only ſaved himſelf, but helped an Engliſh-man to eſcape alſo, whom he ran after with his Hatchet in his hand, as if he were about to kill him; whereby both of them made a ſhift to get away: the reſt were all loſt, (the unfaithfulneſs of the Meſſenger being as was intimated before,

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the cauſe of their ſlaughter) unto a few that hardly eſcaped by the advantage of the buſhes, giving them opportunity to paſs unſeen: yet was it confeſſed by a Priſoner of the Enemy, taken afterward by the Engliſh, that they loſt an hundred and forty in that Encounter. And had not the ſaid Engliſh by wading after the enemy over a River, made their amunition uſeleſs, there had not half ſo many of them been cut off. From thence they turned back towards *Rehoboth* near *Swanzy*, where on *March* 28, they burnt thirty Barns, and near upon forty dwelling Houſes, thereby as it were threatning the utter deſolation of that poor Town; and ſo proceeding on that ſide the Country, they burnt the very next day about thirty houſes in *Providence* in the way toward *Narrhaganſet*.

But it was now full ſea with *Philip* his affairs: for ſoon after the tide of his ſucceſſes began to turn about the Sea-coaſt, which made way for the falling of the water up higher in the Country. For about this time news came to *Boſton* that our neighbours and friends of *Connecticut Colony* hearing of the attempts of the enemy on that ſide of the Country, ſent a party of their Soldiers, under the Command of Capt. *George Deniſon*, with ſome friendly *Indians*, part *Mohegins* and *Pequods*, part *Nianticks* belonging to *Ninigret* a *Narrhaganſet Sachem*, who never engaged in this quarrel againſt the Engliſh; who in purſuit of the enemy, meeting with a conſiderable part of them about the *Narrhaganſet Country*, killed and took forty and five of them, without the loſs of one of their own men. This Victory was the more conſiderable, in that ſeveral of the chief Captains of the enemy were at this time killed or taken; amongſt whom was *Canonchet* (who came down to get ſeed-corn to plant at *Squakheag*) he was the chief *Sachem* of all the *Narrhaganſets*: the ſon of *Miantonimoh*, and the heir of all his fathers pride and inſolency, as well as of his malice againſt the Engliſh; a moſt perfidious villain, who had the laſt *October* been at *Boſton*, pretending to make a firm peace with the Engliſh, but never intending to keep one Article thereof: Therefore as a juſt reward of his wickedneſs was he adjudged by thoſe that took him, to die, which was accordingly put in execution at *Stonington*, whither he was carried: There his head being cut off, was carried to *Hartford*: The *Mohegins* and *Pequods* that had the honour to take him priſoner, having the honour likewiſe of doing juſtice upon him, and that by the prudent advice of the Engliſh Commanders, thereby the more firmly to engage the ſaid *Indians* againſt the treacherous *Narrhaganſets*. There are differing reports about the manner of his taking, and by whom, whither the *Indians* or the Engliſh firſt took him; however it was ſufficient matter of rejoicing to all the Colonies of the Engliſh,

that the Ring-leader of almoſt all this miſchief, and great Incendiary betwixt the *Narrhaganſets* and us, died himſelf by that ſword of war which he had drawn againſt others.

Not long after Capt. *George Deniſon* of *Stonington*, with ſixty ſix Voluntiers, and an hundred and twelve *Pequods*, killed and took ſeventy and ſix of the enemy, amongſt whom were two *Narrhaganſet* Sachems, one of which was the Grand-child of *Pomham* (who is accounted the moſt warlike and the beſt Soldier of all the *Narrhaganſet Sachems*) taking at the ſame time 160 Buſhels of the Enemies Corn, no ſmall damage to our Enemies at that time, and all this without the loſs of one man of the ſaid Captains followers.

The greateſt miſchief which after this time was done by the Enemy in *Plimouth Colony*, was by burning of Houſes and Barns, which they might eaſily do, the Inhabitants in moſt of thoſe Towns being repaired to Gariſon-houſes for their greater ſecurity: For about the 20*th* of *April*, fifty of the Enemy burnt about nineteen Houſes and Barns at *Scituate*, but were ſo reſolutely encountred by a few of the Inhabitants, that they were driven away, and thereby prevented from doing of further miſchief.

Not long after, *May* 8, they burned about ſeventeen Houſes and Barns in *Bridgewater*, a ſmall Town in *Plimouth Colony*, ten or twelve miles on this ſide *Taunton*, but it pleaſed God juſt at the time to ſend a Thunder-ſhower, which put out the fire, or elſe it might have prevailed much further.

It is very remarkable, that the Inhabitants of the ſaid *Bridgewater*, never yet loſt one perſon by the ſword of the Enemy, though the Town is ſcituate within *Plimouth Colony*; yet have they helped to deſtroy many of the Enemy. *None knows either love or hatred by all that is before them in things of this nature:* nor ought ſtanders by that may eſcape, think themſelves leſs ſinners than thoſe that ſo periſh by the ſword of the Enemy: Yet about this time four of the Inhabitants of *Taunton* were killed, as they were at their work in the field, whereby it is ſaid, thirty Children were made Fatherleſs: *So unſearchable are the judgments of the Almighty, and his ways paſt finding out.*

During theſe Calamities, Gods Diſpenſations have been very various, as well in reference unto Towns and Villages, as unto perſons: As if ſome places had been by ſpecial providence marked out to preſervation, as others unto deſtruction; of which no other reaſon can be rendred according unto man, than the good pleaſure of God ſo to order and diſpoſe of events, which *ſometimes*, as *Solomon* ſays, *are all one to the good, and to the clean, and to the unclean.*

And

And becauſe ſpecial notice is taken of the Town of *Bridgwater*, the which although it is ſeated, as it were, in the midſt of danger, and hath been often aſſaulted by conſiderable numbers of the Enemy, yet never loſt any one of their Inhabitants, young or old; a particular account ſhall here be given of the moſt remarkable paſſages of Divine Providence relating to that Plantation ſince the War began.

June 26. 1675, when *Philip*'s malice againſt the Engliſh, mixed with a particular prejudice againſt Governour *Winſlow*, began to boil up to the height of an open Rebellion, the people of *Swanzy* being like to be diſtreſſed by the *Indians*, a Poſt was inſtantly ſent to the Governour of *Plimouth*, the way lying through *Bridgewater*, the ſaid Poſt returned the next day; and about nine or ten of the Clock, as he paſſed through the Town, left an Order from the Governour for the raiſing of 20 men, well armed and furniſhed with Horſes, to be forthwith diſpatched away for the relief of *Swanzy*; ſeventeen were all that could be raiſed on the ſudden, who were ſent thither that night, and were the firſt that were upon their march in all the Country; and poſſibly they fared not the worſe for their forwardneſs: as *Deborah* the Propheteſs, bleſſed God for them *that offered themſelves willingly among the People:* Theſe ſeventeen of *Bridgewater* were *June* 21, ordered by Capt. *Bradford* to *Metapoiſit* a place at twelve miles diſtance from *Swanzy*, to ſtrengthen the Gariſon at one *Bourn*'s Houſe, wherein were ſeventy perſons, amongſt whom were only found ſixteen men. After they had marched five miles of their way, having Mr. *Brown*'s Son for their Pilot, they met with ſome *Swanzy* people, newly turned out of their Houſes (by which they were to paſs) who having not as yet reſiſted unto Blood, yet made doleful lamentations, wringing of their hands; and bewailing of their loſſes, very much alſo perſwading *Bridgewater*-men to turn back, becauſe of the danger; but they having ſo clear a call, had alſo more courage than cowardly to deſert the cauſe of God and his People, leſt they ſhould thereby betray the lives of ſo many of their friends into the Enemies hands; and ſo by the good hand of God towards them, came ſafe to *Metapoiſet* that night.

The next day in the morning, a part of them went to guard Mr. *Brown* their Pilot back to his quarters; in their return they came ſuddenly upon a party of *Indians*, about thirty in all; they were within ſhot one of another, but the Engliſh having no Commiſſion to fight, till they were aſſaulted, and not being impeached in their paſſage, they returned ſafe to their Gariſon at *Metapoiſet*: the *Indians* preſently drawing off, and firing three Guns (though not with intent to do them any hurt,

hurt, as was conceived) gave a ſhout, and ſo left them, when this party of the Engliſh drew near to their Garriſon, they met with a company of Carts going to fetch Corn from an houſe deſerted near by, about a quarter of a mile off from Mr. *Bourne*'s houſe; the Soldiers gave them notice of the *Indians* which they had diſcovered, and withal adviſed them by no means to venture any more, becauſe of the danger: but they were reſolved notwithſtanding theſe earneſt perſwaſions of the Soldiers, to have another turn, which they ſoon found to be to the peril of their own lives, ſix of them being preſently after either killed right out, or mortally wounded, as ſoon as they came to the Barn where was the Corn; theſe ſix are ſaid to be the firſt that were ſlain in this quarrel. The Soldiers at the Garriſon hearing the Guns, made what haſte they could to the place, but being moſt of them in that interim gone to look their Horſes, they could not come time enough to the relief of their friends; yet upon their approach, they who had done the miſchief, preſently fled away: one *Jones* hard purſued by two *Indians*, was by their coming delivered from the extent of the Enemies cruelty, but having received his mortal wound, had only that favour thereby, to die in the Arms of his friends, though by the wounds received from his Enemies.

The next week, fifteen of thoſe Soldiers looking after their Horſes, fell into an Ambuſh of twenty of the *Indians*, but being prepared for the encounter, they diſcharged their Guns upon each other: but our men received no hurt, ſome of them felt the wind of the Bullets paſſing by their faces; what damage the Enemy received is uncertain, yet ſome of the Engliſh report they found ſome of their Enemies dead bodies in the place afterward.

Thus were they not only preſerved in many perils themſelves, but became inſtrumental alſo for the preſervation of moſt of that Garriſon, who with their goods by their means, with the help of a ſmall party of *Plimouth* Forces ſent thither after the ſix were killed (as is mentioned before) were ſoon after tranſported ſafely to *Road-Iſland*.

Many outrages were that Summer committed upon their Neighbours at *Taunton* and *Namaſket*; yet it pleaſed God to protect this poor Town of *Bridgewater* from any other hurt, till the beginning of *April* next, when themſelves with their Neighbours of *Taunton* and *Rehoboth*, were ſtrongly ſolicited to deſert their Dwellings, and repair down to the Towns by the Sea-ſide; but God encouraged them to keep their ſtations notwithſtanding the extream danger then preſented. It is reported that *Philip* gave order that *Taunton* and *Bridgewater* ſhould not be deſtroyed till the laſt, which is all the favour to be expected from an enemy,

but

but theſe things are only in the hands of God, and not to be determined by man.

Apr. 9. being the Lords-day, A ſmall party of the Enemy came down upon the ſaid *Bridgewater*, burnt an out-houſe and barn, broke up and rifled ſeveral other houſes in the ſame quarter of the Town, which are notwithſtanding yet remaining; they ſent out a party of their men to purſue them that night, and many days after, but could not hear of them.

May 7. the Lords-day alſo (no doubt but the betterneſs of the day will increaſe the badneſs of their deed attempted thereon) they had intelligence of a great body of *Indians* diſperſed that way, with intent to have faln upon the Town that very day, but were caſually prevented by a great deal of rain that fell the night before: however they were reſolved to foreſlow no opportunity, wherefore on the next day (*May* 8.) about three hundred of them, one *Tiſquogen* being their chief Leader, at eight or nine in the morning made an aſſault upon the Eaſt-end of the Town, on the South-ſide of the River: many of the Inhabitants ſtayed at home that morning becauſe of the intelligence the day before, and ſo were the more ready to entertain them; ſome that not taking that warning ventured into the field about their occaſions, were in danger of ſurprizal, but by the ſpecial favour of God eſcaped, and came time enough to help to defend their own and their neighbours dwellings, being ſhot at, and hard purſued a conſiderable way.

The *Indians* preſently began to fire the Town, but it pleaſed God ſo to ſpirit and encourage ſeveral of the Inhabitants, iſſuing out of their Garriſon-houſes, that they fell upon them with great reſolution, & beat them off; at the ſame inſtant of time, the Lord of Hoſts alſo fighting for them from Heaven, by ſending a ſtorm of thunder and rain very ſeaſonably, which prevented the burning of the houſes which were fired: The Soldiers alſo fighting under the banner of Gods ſpecial protection were ſo ſucceſsful in repelling the Enemy, that they neither had any of the Inhabitants killed or taken, and but one wounded. The *Indians* by this ſtout reſiſtance, being beaten off to the skirts of the Town, made a freſh onſet upon another quarter thereof, on the North-ſide of the River where they had done much more miſchief, but that God ſtirred up ſundry of the people to venture out of their fortified houſes, who fired upon the enemy, and beat them from their dwellings, ſo as in the evening they drew off to an out-houſe, 3. miles diſtant from the Town: the next day the Inhabitants expected another aſſault, but the enemy having burned the houſe & barn where they kept their Rendezvouz over night, & one

houſe

houſe more not far diſtant, they marched all clear away for that time.

Thus it pleaſed God ſo to order his diſpenſations, toward this ſmall Town, as a brand plucked out of the fire, that they did but juſt taſte of this bitter cup, which others drank deeper of; yet had they not ſuch mercy, as theſe had, mixed therewith: under God, the courage of the Inhabitants was a great means of their preſervation, for they fired ſo ſtoutly upon the Enemies, that they durſt not come very near any of the Gariſoned Houſes, ſaluting them only at a diſtance. God was eminently ſeen upholding the ſpirits of all ſorts, men and women, ſo as no conſternation of mind was ſeen upon any of them, during the whole time of the diſpute.

In this aſſault they loſt but thirteen dwelling-houſes, whereof five only were in the Town (the reſt being out-houſes and deſerted for the preſent) with ſome few Barns, and ſome of their Cattel; all which was a very inconſiderable loſs, in compariſon of what befell others, and themſelves might have endured, if God had not by his ſpecial favour prevented.

July 14, & 15, Another party of *Indians* came down upon the North-weſt ſide of the Town, but with no better ſucceſs; for they had no Commiſſion from the Lord of Hoſts to touch any of the perſons of the Inhabitants, their power reaching only to the ſlaying of their Cattel at this time.

July 18, 19, 20. They ſent out parties after the Enemy to purſue them by their Track, who fell upon ſome of them. On the twentieth they took ſixteen, whereof two were men: on this day they had to aſſiſt them, it ſeems ſome of the *Bay-Indians* ſent them from Captain *Brattle*; ſome of the Captives informed, that there were but 70 or 80 in the Company, and but ten or twelve men amongſt them: but within a few days, theſe *Bridgewater* men ſhall find better ſucceſs in purſuit of their Enemies, when *Philip* himſelf ſhall hardly eſcape their hands, as ſhall be ſeen afterwards.

While one party of the Enemy thus acted their part in and about *Plimouth Colony*, towards the Sea-coaſt, other parties of them were not idle in the *Maſſachuſets Colony*, where they aſſaulted many places, doing what miſchief they could by firing of Houſes, and killing ſeveral perſons in the Inland Plantations.

March 2. They aſſaulted *Groton*: the next day over night Maj. *Willard* with ſeventy Horſe came into the Town; forty Foot alſo came up to their relief from *Watertown*, but the *Indians* were all fled, having firſt burned all the Houſes in the Town, ſave four that were Gariſoned,

the

the Meeting-houſe, being the ſecond houſe they fired. Soon after, Capt. *Sill* was ſent with a ſmall Party of Dragoons of 8 Files to fetch off the Inhabitants of *Groton*, and what was left, from the ſpoil of the Enemy, having under his conduct about ſixty Carts, being in depth from Front to Reer above two Miles: when a party of *Indians* lying in ambuſh at a place of eminent advantage, fired upon the Front, and mortally wounded two of the vaunt Carriers, who died both the next night; and might (had God permitted) have done eminent damage to the whole Body, it being a full hour before the whole Body could be drawn up, which was done with care and Courage: but the *Indians* after a few more ſhot made, without doing harm, retired, and made no further aſſault upon them, being the ſame Party of *Indians* which the day before had burned ſome part of *Chelmsford*. Soon after this Village was deſerted and deſtroyed by the Enemy; yet was it a ſpecial providence, that though the Carts were guarded with ſo ſlender a Convoy, yet there was not any conſiderable loſs ſuſtained.

The ſurprizal of *Groton* was after this manner.

On *March* 2, the *Indians* came in the night and rifled eight or nine Houſes, and carried away ſome Cattel, and alarmed the Town.

On *March* 9, about ten in the morning, a parcel of *Indians* (having two days lurked in the Town, and taken poſſeſſion of three out Houſes, and feaſted themſelves with corn, divers Swine and Poultrey which they there ſeized) laid an ambuſh for two Carts, which went from their Garriſon to fetch in ſome Hay, attended with four men, two of which eſpying the Enemy, made a difficult eſcape: the other two were ſet upon, and one of them ſlain, ſtrip'd naked, his body mangled, and dragged into the High-way, and laid on his back in a moſt ſhameful manner: the other taken Captive, and after ſentenced to death, but the Enemy not concurring in the manner of it, execution was deferred, and he by the providence of God eſcaped by a bold attempt the night before he was deſigned to ſlaughter, and fled to the Garriſon of *Lancaſter*, the cattel in both Towns wounded, and five of them ſlain outright.

March 13, was the day when the Enemy came in a full body, by their own account 400, and thought by the Inhabitants to be not many fewer. The Town was at that time (having been put into a fright by the ſad Cataſtrophe of *Lancaſter* the next bordering Town) gathered into five Garriſons, four of which were ſo near together, as to be able to command from one to the other, between which were the cattel belonging to thoſe Families driven into Paſtures, which afterward proved their preſervation; the other was near a mile diſtant from the reſt.

This morning the *Indians* (having in the night placed themſelves in ſeveral parts of the Town) made their Onſet, which began near the four Gariſons: for a body of them having placed themſelves in Ambuſcado behind a Hill, near one of the Gariſons, two of them made diſcovery of themſelves, as if they had ſtood upon diſovery. At this time divers of the people, nothing ſuſpecting any ſuch matter (for the day before, many had been upon diſcovery many miles, and found no ſigns of an Enemy being ſo near) were attending their occaſions: ſome foddering their cattel, ſome milking their Cows, of whom the Enemy might eaſily have made a ſeizure, but God prevented; they having another deſign in hand, as ſoon after appeared: Theſe two *Indians* were at length eſpied, and the Alarm given; whereupon the moſt of the men in the next Gariſon, and ſome alſo of the ſecond (which was about eight or nine pole diſtant) drew out and went to ſurprize theſe two *Indians*, who kept their ſtation till our men reached the brow of the Hill, then aroſe the ambuſh and diſcharged a volley upon them, which cauſed a diſorderly retreat, or rather a rout, in which one was ſlain, and three others wounded: mean while another ambuſh had riſen, and come upon the backſide of the Gariſon ſo deſerted of men, and pulled down the Palliſadoes: The Soldiery in this rout, retreated not to their own, but paſſed by to the next Gariſon, the Women and Children mean while expoſed to hazard; but by the goodneſs of God made a ſafe eſcape to the other fortified Houſe without any harm, leaving their ſubſtance to the Enemy, vvho made a prey of it, and ſpent the reſidue of the day in removing the corn and Houſhold-ſtuff (in which loſs five Families were impoveriſhed) and firing upon the other Gariſon: here alſo they took ſome Cattel. No ſooner was the ſignal given by the firſt volley of ſhot, but immediately in ſeveral parts of the Town at once, did the ſmoak ariſe, they firing the Houſes.

In the afternoon they uſed a ſtratagem not unlike the other, to have ſurprized the ſingle Gariſon, but God prevented. An old *Indian*, paſſed along the ſtreet with a black ſheep on his back, with a ſlow pace, as one decrepit: They made ſeveral ſhot at him, but miſſed him, at which ſeveral iſſued out to have taken him alive; but the Watchman ſeaſonably eſpying an ambuſh behind the Houſe, gave the ſignal, whereby they were prevented.

The night following the Enemy lodged in the Town, ſome of them in the Gariſon they had ſurprized, but the Body of them in an adjacent valley, vvhere they made themſelves merry after their ſalvage manner. The next morning they gave two or three Volleys at Capt. *Parkers*

Garison, and so marched off, fearing as was thought that supply might be nigh at hand. This assault of theirs was managed with their wonted subtilty and barbarous cruelty; for they strip'd the body of him whom they had slain in the first onset, and then cutting off his head, fixed it upon a pole looking towards his own Land. The corpse of the man slain the week before, they dug up out of his Grave, they cut off his head and one leg, and set them upon poles, and strip'd off his winding-sheet. An Infant which they found dead in the House first surprized, they cut in pieces, which afterward they cast to the swine. There were about forty dwelling Houses burnt at that time, besides other Buildings. This desolation was followed with the breaking up of the Town, and scattering of the Inhabitants, and removal of the Candlestick, after it had been there seated above twelve years.

Concerning the surprizing of *Groton*, *March* 13, There was not any thing much more material than what is already mentioned, save only the insolency of *John Monoco*, or *one-eyed John*, the chief Captain of the *Indians* in that design; who having by a sudden surprizal early in the morning seized upon a Garison-house in one end of the Town, continued in it, plundering what was there ready at hand, all that day; and at night did very familiarly in appearance, call to our Captain *Parker*, that was lodged in another Garison-house, and entertained a great deal of Discourse with him; whom he called *his old Neighbour*: dilating upon the cause of the War, and putting an end to it by a friendly Peace: yet oft mixing bitter Sarcasms, with several blasphemous scoffs and taunts at their praying and worshipping God in the Meeting-house, which he deridingly said he had burned. Among other things which he boastingly uttered that night, he said he burnt *Medfield* (though it be not known whether he was there personally present or no), *Lancaster*, and that now he would burn that Town of *Groton*, and the next time he would burn *Chelmsford*, *Concord*, *Water-town*, *Cambridg*, *Charlstown*, *Roxbury*, *Boston*: adding at last in their Dialect, *What Me will, Me do*; not much unlike the proud *Assyrian* (if his power had been equal to his pride) sometimes threatned against *Jerusalem*, but was by the remarkable providence of God, so confounded within a few months after, that he was bereft of his four hundred and fourscore (of which he now boasted) and only with a few more Bragadozio's like himself, *Sagamore Sam*, *old Jethro*, and the *Sagamore of Quoboag*, were taken by the English, and was seen (not long before the writing of this) marching towards the Gallows (through *Boston* Streets, which he threatned to burn at his pleasure) with an Halter about his neck, with which he was hang-

ed at the Towns end, *September* 26, in this present year 1676. *So let thine Enemies perish, O Lord*, and such contempt be poured on all them that open their mouths to blaspheme thy Holy Name.

Things looked with a pretty sad face about those parts at this time; yet, *though the Righteous fall seven times, let not their Enemies rejoyce; for the Righteous shall rise again, but their wicked Enemies shall fall into mischief, and rise no more.* It was Ebbing-water with *New-England* at this time, and a while after; but God shall turn the stream before it be long, and bring down their Enemies to lick the dust before them.

After this, *April* 17, Captain *Sill*, being appointed to keep Garison at *Groton*, some *Indians* coming to hunt for Swine, three *Indians* drew near the Garison-house, supposing it to have been deserted, two of them were slain by one single shot made by the Captains own hands, and the third by another shot made from the Garison.

The danger which these inland Towns were like to be exposed unto from the Enemy, after they were driven out of the *Narhaganset Country*, was foreseen by the Council of the *Massachusets*, yea, they had some intimation thereof from the Enemy themselves: but they were not well able to prevent it, in that unseasonable time of the year, no way fit for marching of Soldiers, and transporting of Provisions (the Winter then beginning to break up in this Country); for while our Forces were up in the *Narhaganset Country* in the Winter, a couple of Christian *Indians* were sent as Spies into the *Nipnet* and *Narhaganset Countrey*, through the Woods in the depth of Winter, when the ways were impassible for any other sort of people: these two, by name *Tamis* and *Job*, ordered their business so prudently, as that they were admitted into those *Indian* habitations as Friends, and had free liberty of Discourse with them; they were at the first a little jealous of them, but by the means of *One eyed John* (a great Captain of the *Indians*, that afterward led them that spoiled *Groton*, who having been a Companion of one of the said Spies both in Hunting, and in fighting against the *Mohawks* formerly; so esteemed of him, that he would not suffer any of the rest to touch him); they passed through all the *Indian* Towns lying thirty miles distant from *Quabaug*, and twenty miles Northward of the Road to *Connecticut*: one of the said Spies returned about *Jan.* 24, informing those that sent him, what he observed, both the number of the *Indians* (about three hundred in all), also their several Towns, and what provision they had: plenty of Venison, much Pork from the Englishmens Hogs which they had taken; they confessed likewise, that he and some of his Party had killed the people of *Nashoway* the last year, suspected to

have been done by the *Indians* of *Marlborough*: he told them also they intended to burn *Lancaster* within three weeks after that time, which accordingly they did much about the same time: adding moreover, that some *Frenchmen* were with them at *Pocomptuck*, encouraging of them to go on with their designs, promising them assistance, which made some ready to think the *Indians* were stirred up by the *French* to do all this mischief, but more of that afterwards: what might be gathered from the foresaid premises is easie to conceive; whereupon new Forces with as much speed as the season would allow, were raised and sent up into those parts, under the command of Major *Savage* in chief: they were dispatched away in the beginning of *March*, and appointed to meet with such as should be sent from *Connecticut Colony*, which they did about *Quabaug*, and so intended to march directly up to those *Indian*-Towns about *Watchuset Hill* to the Northwest: but the *Indians* were gone, and our Forces in the pursuit of them, taking the wrong path, missed of them; yet ranging through those woods, they were at one time suddenly assaulted by a small party of *Indians* firing upon them, wounding Mr. *Gershom Bulkly*, by a shot in his Thigh, and killing one of their Soldiers, after which, as they marched along, they accidentally fell upon another small party of the Enemy, of whom they slew some, and took others to the number of Sixteen, yet could not meet with the main Body of the Enemy who it seems had passed over a great River by Rafts, so our men could follow them no further; wherefore turning down towards *Hadly* and *Northampton*, whither it was supposed the *Indians* intended to pass, they came very seasonably to the relief of the said Towns, which else had been in danger of being lost. For,

March 14, the Enemy fell upon *Northampton*, and in three places broke through the Fortification of Pallizadoes, set up round about the Town a little before, for their better security; but the Town being at that time full of Soldiers, they were quickly repulsed, after they had killed four men and two women, and fired four or five dwelling-houses, and as many Barns, with the loss of many of their lives, as was supposed.

While our Forces under Major *Savage* continued on that side of the Country, a sad accident fell out at *Springfield*, the certainty of which it is judged meet here to relate, to prevent mistakes: the matter having through a great oversight been otherwise represented, than indeed it was, not only to the prejudice of Truth, but to the disadvantage of some persons concerned therein. While the Soldiers were quartered amongst the several Towns upon *Connecticut River*; a party of the Troop were

were quartered at a place belonging to *Springfield* called the *Long-Meadow*, Three miles from the Town below toward *Windsor*: ſeveral of the Inhabitants having moſt of the Winter kept from the publick meeting on the Lords days, for fear of the Enemy, were incouraged to adventure to the Aſſembly on the 26th of *March*, riding in the company of the Troopers; but having heard of no *Indians* thereabouts a good while, were more ſecure than they had cauſe; for riding ſome of them with women behind them, and ſome with their Children in their Arms yet not ſo careful as to keep in the middle, but rather in the Rear, and at a pretty diſtance ſtragling from the reſt of the Company, a party of *Indians* lying in the Buſhes as they rode along, fired upon the hindmoſt, and killed Two and wounded others: thoſe in the Front having alſo Women and Maids behind ſome of them, were at a ſtand to know what to do, fearing they might expoſe thoſe Women they had in their company, if they ſhould ride back (in that winding Road made through a woody place for a mile or two together) to look after them that were behind; at the laſt, one that came riding up, told the foremoſt company there was no hurt and that they were all coming: they that were before, rode away with all ſpeed to the end of the Town, where ſetting down the Women, the Troopers returned back, but too late to recover too poor Women & two Children, who upon the firſt aſſault were thrown off their Horſes, and immediately haled into the Buſhes, and through a Swamp on the other ſide of a ſteep Bark, ſo as they could not be heard-of all that afternoon, nor the next day, till toward night; although they were diligently ſearched after by all the Troopers in and about the Town; At laſt when they were deſcryed juſt by a Swamp ſide, the cruel wretches endeavoured to have killed them all, but in haſte only wounded them with their Hatchets, yet ſo as one of the poor creatures recovered; the other with the Children dyed of their wounds before they were brought home, or within a little time after. They did not complain of any incivility toward them while they were in their power, but by the Farewell given them at their parting, they found it true by their own experience, that *the tender mercies of the wicked are cruelty.*

There hapned no other matter of moment worthy the reporting, while our Forces tarryed in thoſe parts; and the Commanders obſerving that the Enemy was turned back again through the Woods, towards the *Maſſachuſets Bay*, after a months time retired back, yet could never meet with the Enemy in their return through the Woods, although while they were at the Towns aforeſaid, they underſtood of ſeveral attempts made upon *Sudbury*, *Marlborough*, the moſt part of which laſt they

they deſtroyed *March* 26, which made the Inhabitants forſake their Dwellings, leaving only a few Houſes gariſoned with Soldiers, the better to ſecure a paſſage to the Towns weſtward upon *Connecticut River*.

The Inhabitants of *Sudbury*, with the Soldiers under Lieut. *Jacobs* of *Marlborough* ſufficiently alarmed by the late miſchief done about thoſe Towns, reſolved to try what work they could make with the Enemy in the night; whereupon going forth *March* 27, toward morning, they diſcerned where the Enemy lay by their fires, (near Three hundred of them) and that within half a mile of a gariſon-houſe, near the place where they had done ſo much miſchief the day before. Such was the courage and reſolution of the Engliſh, though but Forty in number, Towns-men and Soldiers, that they adventured to diſcharge upon them as they lay by their fires, when it was ſo dark that an *Indian* could hardly be diſcerned from a better man; yet God ſo directing, they diſcharged ſeveral times upon them, wounded thirty, fourteen of whom either dyed of their wounds the ſame day or ſoon after, which had been chief agents in this preſent miſchief againſt the Engliſh. Such was the ſucceſs of this skirmiſh, that the Aſſailants came off without the loſs of one man.

After this time the Enemy began to ſcatter about in ſmall parties, doing what miſchief they could about the *Maſſachuſets*, killing a man at *Weymouth*, another at *Hingham*, as they lay skulking up and down in Swamps and holes, to aſſault any that occaſionally looked never ſo little into the Woods; ſometimes alarming the Towns about *Boſton* by diſcharging guns upon particular perſons; at *Billerica*, *Braintree*, and at *Rentham*, near about which place in the Road to *Rehoboth*, they aſſaulted one *Woodcocks* houſe, killed one man, and one of his ſons, wounded another, and burned his ſons houſe.

Notwithſtanding the little ſucceſs of former attempts, *Philip* and his men have one prize more to play in the *Maſſachuſets Colony*, before they go off the ſtage, and then we ſhall ſoon ſee their power viſibly declining every where, until their final overthrow come upon them. There were ſeveral ſmall Parties of them ſcattered up and down all over the Country, yet the main Body of them was ſtill lurking up and down in thoſe woods that lye between *Brookefield*, *Marlborough* and *Connecticut-River*. Poſſibly they had ſome hope of driving all the Country before them to the Towns upon the Sea coaſt; for having burned the deſerted houſes at *Marlborough*, *April* 17, the next day they ſet upon *Sudbury* with all their might, (hoping 'tis ſike) to do there, as they had done at the Towns next beyond it. They did at the firſt prevail ſo far as to conſume ſeveral Houſes, and Barns, and kill ſeveral perſons, Ten or twelve of the.

the Engliſh, that came from *Concord* to aſſiſt their neighbours at *Sudbury*, a Town diſtant Five miles from them, at the firſt hearing of the Alarm; who unawares were ſurpriſed near a Gariſon houſe, in hope of getting ſome advantage upon a ſmall Party of the Enemy that preſented themſelves in a Meadow; a great number of *Indians* that lay unſeen in the buſhes, ſuddenly roſe up, and intercepting the paſſage to the Gariſon-houſe, killed and took them all.

But our ſorrows and loſſes that day are not yet come to their height; for in the after part of the ſame day, that reſolute ſtout-hearted Soldier, Capt. *Wadſworth* (who had not long before, with not above forty men, reſcued *Lancaſter*, when it was in danger to have been all loſt at once) being ſent from *Boſton* with fifty Soldiers to relieve *Marlborough*, having marched Five and twenty miles, and then underſtanding the Enemy was gone through the Woods toward *Sudbury*: this unwearied Company, before ever they had taken any conſiderable reſt, marched immediately back toward *Sudbury* (that lies ten miles nearer *Boſton*) and being come within a mile of the Town, they eſpied a party of *Indians* not far from them, about an hundred, not more, as they conceived, theſe they might eaſily deal with; who retiring back a while, drew Capt. *Wadſworth* and his Company above a mile into the Woods, when on the ſudden a great body of the Enemy appeared, about Five hundred as was thought, who compaſſing them in round, forced them to the top of an hill, where they made very ſtout reſiſtance a conſiderable while; but the night drawing on, and ſome of the Company beginning to ſcatter from the reſt, their fellows were forced to follow them, ſo as the Enemy taking the chaſe, purſued them on every ſide, as they made too haſty a retreat, by which accident, being ſo much overpowred by the Enemies numbers, they were moſt of them loſt: the Captain himſelf, with one Captain *Brocklebank* (a choice ſpirited man, much lamented by the Town of *Rowly* to which he belonged) and ſome others that fell into his Company as he marched along, ſcarce twenty eſcaping in all; ſo as another Captain and his fifty periſhed at that time, of as brave Soldiers as any were ever imployed in the preſent ſervice.

Thus as in former attempts of like nature, too much courage and eagerneſs in purſuit of the Enemy, hath added another fatal blow to this poor Country.

The ſame day another party of the Engliſh coming from *Brookefield*, whither they were ſent as a Convoy with Proviſion for the Gariſon, were in danger likewiſe of falling into the hands of the ſame *Indians*; yet riding upon a good ſpeed, and keeping their Guns always ready pre-

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ſented againſt them they met, they never durſt fire at them: only three or four, having unadviſedly firſt diſcharged their Guns againſt the Enemy, and falling too much in the Reer of their Company, were cut off and loſt. It is reported by ſome that afterwards eſcaped, how they cruelly tortured five or ſix of the Engliſh that night: yet whatever their ſucceſs was this day, it was obſerved by ſome (at that time their Priſoners, and ſince releaſed) that they ſeemed very penſive after they came to their Quarters, ſhewing no ſuch ſigns of rejoycing, as they uſually were wont to do in like caſe; whether for the loſs of ſome of their own Company in that days enterpriſe (ſaid to be an hundred and twenty), or whether it were the Devil in whom they truſted that deceived them, and to whom they made their addreſs the day before, by ſundry Conjurations of their *Powawes*; or whether it were by any dread that the Almighty ſent upon their ſpirits, upon their execrable Blaſphemies, which 'tis ſaid they uſed in the torturing of ſome of their poor Captives (bidding *Jeſus* come and deliver them out of their hands from death if he could) we leave as uncertain, though ſome have ſo reported; yet ſure it is, that after this day they never proſpered in any attempt they made againſt the Engliſh, but were continually ſcattered and broken, till they were in a manner all conſumed. After this time, however they had braved it before, they ſeemed to apprehend that it was ſcarce feaſible for them to withſtand the power of the Engliſh, and therefore ſeemed more inclinable to a peace, by ſeveral overtures made by them, if they knew how to have brought it about. For during theſe Encounters they were willing to admit of ſome kind of Treaty with the Engliſh, about the releaſing of ſundry of their Captives, which they took at *Lancaſter* in *February* laſt, and elſewhere: To that end, ſundry attempts were made by help of ſeveral of the *Praying-Indians* (as they uſe to be called) about the redemption of ſome of the Wõmen and Children, which were at that time in their poſſeſſion, and by degrees ſomething was effected that way; poſſibly their own preſent ſufferings and wants that were upon them, might induce them thereunto: For by this time the Spring of the year came on, their proviſion was all ſpent, and they forced to live vvholly upon Ground-nuts, and upon the fleſh of the Engliſh creatures, both Horſe and Neat cattel, which they daily plundered. The Ground-nuts running up to ſeed in the Summer, began to grow ſo ſticky, as they were ſcarce eatable; the fleſh alſo of the Engliſh Cattel proving unwholſom for their Bodies, filling them with ſundry diſeaſes. One of them having eaten much Horſe fleſh, complained that he had before eaten Horſe, and now Horſe began to eat him, meaning ſome deadly diſeaſe growing upon his

eating ſuch rank fleſh unwholſom for their Bodies, eſpecially vvithout ſalt, as their uſual manner is. The Fiſhing-ſeaſon alſo began now to come in, wherein they uſe to take abundance of all ſorts, vvith which thoſe great Rivers up the Country are abundantly ſtored: they uſe to take thereof, and drying it in the ſmoak, make proviſion thereof for the greateſt part of the year; and if the War continued, they could not but ſee they ſhould utterly be cut off therefrom; and that if the planting ſeaſon alſo were loſt, they ſhould be in great want of Summer-fruits, *ſc.* Beans and Squaſhes (beſides their corn) with which they were vvont to live all the latter part of the Summer. Upon all conſiderations, they ſeemed pretty inclinable to hearken to a peace, though ſome vvere apt to think they would never have kept it further than would ſtand with their own advantage, and that their preſent deſire thereof was only to gain time.

A perſon formerly acquainted with the *Indians* about *Lancaſter*, did adventure upon the forementioned overtures, to go amongſt them to try if he could not prevail with them for the redemption of the Miniſters Wife, taken Captive in *February* laſt from *Lancaſter*; and through the favour of him who having the hearts of all in his hand, inclines them as he pleaſes, obtained the deſired end upon an inconſiderable ſum, which gave encouragement to the Council to ſend two Meſſengers on the like Errand the ſame week to procure the redemption of others, not without ſucceſs: The former, *viz.* Mrs. *Rowlandſon* being brought to *Boſton* upon the Election day, *May* 3*d*, it was generally looked at as a ſmile of Providence, and doubtleſs was a return of Prayer, and anſwer of Faith, with which her Husband had been upheld, and ſupported from the day of her Captivity; his two children alſo were returned back not long after, more by the over-ruling hand of God (*that turns the Captivity of his people as the ſtreams of the South*; and ſometimes inclining them to pity his Servants, that are of themſelves more cruel than the Sea-monſters) than by any other contrivance of mans policy.

And yet notwithſtanding motions of this nature about the redemption of ſome of our Priſoners ſtill in their hands, there was no ceſſation of arms between us.

About this time Letters were ſent down from *Connecticut Colony*, informing the General Court then aſſembled at *Boſton*, that ſome of the *Mohawkes* (a ſort of fierce and ſalvage *Indians*, yet mortal Enemies to theſe we were at Wars withal) had fallen upon ſome of *Philips* Party, and deſtroyed many of them: likewiſe that many of them were deſtroyed by Fevers and Fluxes, vvith other diſtempers falling amongſt them, which

which was ſome reviving to our hopes, that the foot of our Enemy ſhould ſide in due time, and that deſtruction was haſtning upon them, though ſtill they were permitted to do miſchief in ſundry particular places of the Country, which muſt be minded as we paſs along.

Thoſe *Indians* that were our profeſſed Enemies, after they had been beaten out of the *Narhaganſet Country*, *Febr.* 1, tarried a while at *Wimazeag*, a place two days journey north of *Quabaog*, where they divided themſelves into two Companies: one of them tarried on that ſide the Country, the other made towards *Plimouth Colony*, taking *Medfield* in their vvay, from whence as they marched along, they met vvith a notable repulſe at *Bogiſton*, a ſmall Hamlet, or Company, or Farms not far from the ſaid *Medfield*, where they attempted a Gariſon, but meeting with ſtout reſiſtance, they left the enterprize, and kept on their vvay toward *Plimouth Colony*, where they ſcattered themſelves up and down, waiting for opportunities to ſpoil and deſtroy the Engliſh Plantations on that ſide of the Country.

Beſides what is already mentioned, on *May* 11, A party of them aſſaulted the Town of *Plimouth*, burnt eleven Houſes and five Barns belonging thereunto: on the other ſide, a ſmall party of the Engliſh ſcouting about in purſuit of the *Indians*, fell upon a Party of them that lay waiting in ambuſh; but being diſcerned by an *Indian* in the Company of our men that gave timely notice, our Soldiers had an opportunity thereby to make the firſt ſhot, and thereby not only prevented a miſchief to themſelves, but killed alſo ſome of the Enemy (one of whom was obſerved to be of more note than his fellows by his attire) the reſt fled away from them that purſued, though but a ſmall company; ſo that there were daily reciprocal acts of hoſtility in thoſe parts.

Within a few days after this, ſeven Houſes and two Barns more were burnt by the Enemy in and about *Plimouth:* vvho did the like miſchief about the ſame time to the remaining Houſes of *Namaſket* or *Middleborough.*

About this time, another ſort of *Indians* that belonged to *Wameſit*, a place near *Chelmsford*, bordering upon *Merrimack* (vvho had been provoked by the raſh, unadviſed, cruel act of ſome of the Engliſh, about *Octob.* 27, and *November* 4, had fired upon them ſeveral Guns, both at *Chelmsford* and *Woburn*, to the killing of ſome, and wounding of others, upon ſuſpition that the ſaid *Indians* were guilty of burning a Barn, and Hay-ſtack not far off) ſuddenly turned our Enemies, after the Winter was over; having firſt vvithdrawn themſelves from the place aſſigned them, and where they had been relieved all the Winter (ſome of them

after a former revolt) and took their opportunity to fire Mr. *Falconers* Houſe in *Andover* Town early that Spring, & wounded one *Roger Marks*, and killed his Horſe. Two more Houſes about *Shawſhin* beyond the ſaid *Andover*, were burned about *March* 10. Alſo they killed a young man of the ſaid Town, *April* 8, the ſon of *George Abbot*; And another ſon of his alſo was carried away the ſame day, who yet was returned ſome few months after, almoſt pined to death with hunger.

At the ſame time they killed ſome of their Cattel, cutting out only the tongues of ſome for haſte, being ſhot at by ſeveral of the Inhabitants from their Gariſons.

Mar. 10, At *Concord*, two men going for Hay, one of them was killed.

At *Chelmsford*, the ſaid *Wameſit Indians*, about *March* 18, before, fell upon ſome Houſes on the North ſide of the River, burnt down three or four that belonged to the Family of *Edward Colburn*: the ſaid *Colburn*, with *Samuel Varnham* his Neighbour, being purſued, as they paſſed over the River to look after their Cattel on that ſide of the River; and making ſeveral ſhots againſt them, who returned the like again upon the ſaid *Indians* (judged to be about forty) what ſucceſs they had upon the Enemy, was beſt known to themſelves; but two of *Varnhams* ſons were ſlain by the Enemies ſhot, before they could recover the other ſide of the River. *April* 15, alſo were 14 or 15 Houſes burnt there.

Not long before this, *Feb.* 1. 1675, *Tho. Eames*, that kept a Farm at *Sudbury*, whoſe dwelling was three or four miles out of the Town, had his Houſe aſſaulted and fired; his Wife killed, and his Children carried Captive among the *Indians*.

Alſo two men were killed at a Farm about *Concord*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob Shepard* by name, about the middle of *February*; and a young maid that was ſet to watch upon an Hill, of about 15 years of age, was carried Captive; who ſtrangely eſcaped away upon an horſe that the *Indians* had taken from *Lancaſter* a little before. In the like ſtrange manner did one of *Eames* his children eſcape away about *May* 3, laſt, travelling thirty miles alone in the Woods without any relief, till he came to an Engliſh Town. *Eames* his Houſe was aſſaulted when himſelf was from home, by an *Indian* called *Netus* (not long after ſlain at *Marlborough*) which had been familiar with the Engliſh, with nine or ten more of his company, as perfidious and barbarous as himſelf: They burned all the dwellings that belonged to the Farm, Corn, Hay and Cattel, beſides the dwelling-houſe, with what was therein; it is probable thoſe at *Concord* were killed by the ſame hands about a fortnight after.

Many ſuch like remarkable inſtances of ſpecial Providences might be

be mentioned, if it were convenient to inſert ſuch particular paſſages into the general Narrative of the late troubles from our barbarous Enemies.

On *May* 3, a party of them killed a man at *Haverhill*, upon the edge of *Merrimack River*; and paſſing over the ſaid River to *Bradford*, ſpoiled another Family; killing one *Thomas Kemball*, and carrying his Wife and Five Children Captive Forty miles up into the Woods; although it was queſtioned whether this laſt miſchief were done by any of *Philip*'s party, but rather by ſome that belonged to the Eaſtward *Indians*, of which there may be occaſion (God willing) to ſpeak more afterward.

For the ſuppreſſing of theſe inſolencies, ſeveral Companies of freſh Soldiers, both Horſe and Foot, were raiſed in the *Maſſachuſets*, by the Governor and Council of that Colony, and ſent out to ſuppreſs the common Enemy; the Foot under the command of Capt. *Sill*, Capt. *Cutler*, Capt. *Holbrook*; the Horſe under the Command of Capt. *Brattle*, Capt. *Prentice*, Capt. *Henchman*, Commanders in chief: theſe ſeveral Companies modelled as aforeſaid, were ſent out *April* 27. 1676, to range the Woods towards *Haſſanameſit*.

Upon *May* 6, they met with a conſiderable party of the Enemy: they were firſt diſcovered by the *Natick* Scouts purſuing a Bear; and at the firſt not diſcerning that the *Natick Indian* Scouts belonged to our men, it gave ſome advantage to our Forces; our Horſemen falling upon them before they were all aware, killed and took of the Enemy about Sixteen, which they took notice of at the preſent, although it was confeſſed by the Enemy, that they loſt Twenty that encounter. It was reported that the ſounding of a Trumpet without order, did much hurt; but the Commander in chief affirmeth, that it was no diſadvantage to the ſervice in hand, it neither being heard by our own Foot, nor yet by the Enemy. If any error was committed by the Engliſh Companies, it was in that the Horſe did not timely enough draw down from the top of the Hill, whereby they came to be diſcovered by the Enemy; who thereupon made the more haſte to eſcape: However it was no ſmall loſs to the Enemy, ſome of the ſlain being known to be conſiderable perſons; and it ſtruck ſuch a terror into them, that they never durſt face our men afterwards; for although after our men returned to their Quarters at *Medfield*, they ſaw Two hundred fires in the night, yet they could never come near them again to fight any company of them: but the ſeaſon proving rainy, hindred any further purſuit of them at that time. And ſoon after this, the Soldiers being

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visited with sickly distempers by reason of an Epidemical Cold at that time prevailing through the Country, they were for the present released for the recovery of their health, with intent to be called together again at a more convenient time; this was done *May* the tenth.

During this interval of time, upon a report that a party of the Enemy that were discovered about *Rehoboth*, busie in fishing in a River thereabouts, Capt. *Brattle* was sent up about the 23*d* of *May*, who with the help of some of the Inhabitants, killed eleven or twelve of them with the loss of one of our men only: Had they not discovered some of ours on the opposite shoar, it was conceived a greater spoil might have been made amongst them.

But in the next place we must take notice of the proceedings of the Enemy about *Connecticut*: The greatest Body of them made towards *Plimouth Colony* early in the Spring as was said before, where we shall leave them for the present, and observe what the remaining part of them did Westward.

Some scattering parties were skulking about *Springfield*, and those lower Towns, upon a small number of whom Capt. *Holioke* (newly chosen Captain of *Springfield* in the room of his father lately deceased) handselled his office early in the Spring: for having notice of some of them in those woods, he marched after them with ten or twelve resolute young men, and waiting his opportunity, surprized them near the great River, so as Two or three of them were left dead upon the place, another mortally wounded, got on to an Island in the River, where it was concluded he took his last nights lodging. The other being sorely wounded, was taken alive, and brought home to *Springfield*, where he confessed many things to one of the Inhabitants that understood their language, owning the truth in many things against his own company, and soon after dyed of his wounds.

This was but a Preparative to an higher piece of service, which Capt. *Holioke* was soon after engaged in, and wherein he acquitted himself beyond expectation; and taking more pains then ordinary, in making his retreat, he got a Surfeit that ended his days in *September* following about *Boston*.

About the beginning of *April* likewise some of the Inhabitants about *Hadly*, attending their tillage at *Hockanum*, within Three miles of the Town, and having a guard of Soldiers with them, yet Three of the company were casually slain by a party of the Enemy, that lay in wait for such an opportunity. One of them was Mr. *Goodman*, a Dea-

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con of the Church, that went a little beyond the Command of the Soldiers that came to guard them, to view the fence of his own land; and two others that contrary to expreſs order, would venture upon the top of an high hill, near by, to take a needleſs and unſeaſonable view of the Country, were ſhot down by the Enemy before they could recover their *Corps du gard*.

But the great Company of the Enemy, that ſtayed on that ſide of the Country, and about *Watchuſet Hills*, when the reſt went towards *Plimouth*, though they had been diſappointed in their planting, by the death of *Canonchet*, were loth to loſe the advantage of the Fiſhing-ſeaſon then coming in; wherefore having ſeated themſelves near the upper Falls of *Connecticut River*, not far from *Deerfield*, and perceiving that the Engliſh Forces were now drawn off from the lower Towns of *Hadly* and *Northhampton*, now and then took advantages to plunder them of their Cattel, and not fearing any aſſault from our Soldiers, grew a little ſecure, while they were upon their Fiſhing deſign, inſomuch that a couple of Engliſh lads lately taken captive by the Enemy, and making their eſcape, acquainted their friends at home how ſecure they lay in thoſe places, which ſo animated the Inhabitants of *Hadley*, *Hatfield* and *Northhampton*, that they being willing to be revenged for the loſs of their Cattel, beſides other preceding miſchiefs, took upa reſolution with what ſtrength they could raiſe among themſelves (partly out of gariſon Soldiers, and partly of the Inhabitants) to make an aſſault upon them, which if it had been done with a little more deliberation, waiting for the coming of ſupplies expected from *Hartford*, might have proved a fatal buſineſs to all the ſaid *Indians:* yet was the victory obtained more conſiderable than at firſt was apprehended: For not having much above an Hundred and fifty fighting men in their Company, they marched ſilently in the dead of the night, *May*. 18, and came upon the ſaid *Indians* a little before break of day, whom they found almoſt in a dead ſleep, without any Scouts abroad, or watching about their Wigwams at home; for in the evening they had made themſelves merry with new Milk and roſt Beef, having lately driven away many of their milch Cows, as an Engliſh woman confeſſed, that was made to milk them.

When they came near the *Indians* rendezvouze, they allighted off their Horſes, and tyed them to ſome young Trees at a quarter of a miles diſtance, ſo marching up, they fired amain into their very Wigwams, killing many upon the place, and frighting others with the ſudden Alarm of their Guns, made them run into the River, where the ſwiftneſs of the ſtream carrying them down a ſteep Fall, they periſhed in the waters,

ters, some getting into Canoes, (small boats made of the barks of Birchen Trees) which proved to them a *Charons* Boat, being sunk, or overset, by the shooting of our men, delivered them into the like danger of the waters, giving them thereby a passport into the other world: others of them creeping for shelter under the banks of the great River, were espyed by our men and killed with their Swords; Capt. *Holioke* killing Five, young and old, with his own hands from under a bank. When the *Indians* were first awakened with the thunder of their Guns, they cried out *Mohawks*, *Mohawks*, as if their own native enemies had been upon them; but the dawning of the light, soon notified their error, though it could not prevent the danger.

Such as came back, spake sparingly of the number of the slain; some say there could not in reason be less then Two or three hundred of them that must necessarily perish in the midst of so many instruments of destruction managed against them with such disadvantages to themselves. Some of their prisoners afterwards owned that they lost above three hundred in that Camizado, some whereof were principal men, Sachims, and some of their best fighting men that were left, which made the victory more considerable than else it would have been; nor did they seem ever to have recovered themselves after this defeat, but their ruine immediately fell upon it. Yet such was the awful hand of Providence, in the close of this victory, mixing much bitter with the sweet, that it might well be called a costly victory to the Conquerors, that so no flesh should glory in it self.

The *Indians* that lay scattering on both sides of the River, after they recovered themselves, and discovered the small number of them that assailed them, turned head upon the English, who in their retreat were a little disordered, for want of the help of the eldest Captain, that was so enfeebled by sickness before he set out, that he was no way able for want of bodily strength (not any way defective for want of skill or courage) to assist or direct in making the retreat: For some of the Enemy fell upon the Guards that kept the Horses, others pursued them in the Reer, so as our men sustained pretty much damage as they retired, missing after their return Thirty eight of their men: And if Capt. *Holioke* had not played the man at a more than ordinary rate, sometimes in the Front, sometimes in the Flank and Reer, at all times encouraging the Soldiers, it might have proved a fatal business to the assailants. The said Capt. *Holiokes* Horse was shot down under him, and himself ready to be assaulted by many of the *Indians*, just coming upon him; but discharging his Pistols upon one or two of them, whom he

pre-

presently dispatched; and another Friend coming up to his rescue, he was saved, and so carried off the Soldiers without any further loss.

It is confidently reported by some that were there present at this Engagement, that one told above an hundred *Indians* left dead upon the place; and another affirmed, that he told near an hundred and forty swimming down the Falls, none of which were observed to get alive to shore, save one.

The loss that befell our men in the retreat, was occasioned principally by the bodily weakness of Capt. *Turner*, unable to manage his charge any longer; yet some say they wanted powder, which forced them to retire as fast as they could by Capt. *Turners* order.

It is said also by one present at the fight, that seven or eight in the Reer of the English, through haste missed their way, and were never heard of again; and without doubt fell into the *Indians* hands, and it is feared some of them were tortured.

About seven days after this, they were minded to try the chance of War again, and see if they could not recover their loss, by returning the like upon the English: For,

May 30, A great number of them appeared before *Hatfield*, fired about twelve Houses and Barns without the Fortification of the Town, driving away multitudes of their Cattel, and their Sheep, spreading themselves in the Meadow near the Town: which Bravado so raised the courage of their Neighbours at *Hadly*, that twenty five resolute young men ventured over the River, to relieve *Hatfield* in this distress, who charged the enemy with such an undaunted courage and resolution (*Audaces fortuna juvat*) that they beat down five or six at the first shot they made; so making way through the thickest of their Enemies that lay ready to take aim at them behind every Trees they passed by; yet they escaped all their shot till they came within a little of the Town they came to relieve, where they lost five of their twenty five.

The Enemy was so amazed at the resolution of our men, being but so small an handfull, that they fled immediately from the Town; having lost twenty five of their men in the Enterprize.

The Council of the *Massachusets*, gathering by these proceedings of the *Indians*, that their desire of peace was only to gain time, Ordered that the forces raised before *Apr.* 27, and for a time released, should be hastned out again to range the Woods towards *Hadly*, and those parts; made an agreement with *Hartford Colony*, to send Forces from thence to meet them about *Brookefield*, and so to scour along on both sides *Connecticut River*, to distress the Enemy what they could, and keep them from fish-

ing in thoſe waters, their hope of planting being now almoſt over.

To this end about *May* 30. 1676, the Forces under Capt. *Henchman* were called together again, and ſent to *Brookefield* to meet with thoſe expected from *Hartford Colony*: In the way, ours by the direction of *Tom Doublet* (a *Natick Indian*, who was a little before employed in the redemption of Captives) following tracts of *Indians*, came upon a party of the Enemy, fiſhing in *Weſhacom Ponds* toward *Lancaſter*, of whom they killed 7, and took 29, moſt women and children; yet belonging to conſiderable Perſons, it made the ſucceſs the more to be valued. Our Forces being by this means retarded, could not meet with thoſe of *Connecticut* at *Brookefield*; but followed them the week after, having firſt returned from *Weſhacom* to *Marlborough* to ſupply themſelves with ammunition, and ſo marched directly towards *Hadly*, where they met with *Connecticut Forces*; and from thence according to mutual agreement, ours marched on the eaſt-ſide of the River, and *Connecticut Forces* on the Weſt, up toward *Squakheag*, coming to *Deerfield*, and the great Falls thereabouts, they ſent up their Scouts; but not hearing of the Enemy, they marched up no higher, being in no good capacity to have gone further if there had been occaſion, by reaſon of a tedious ſtorm of Rain, which occaſioned much damage in their Ammunition and Proviſion. While our Forces lay about *Deerfield*, ſome of our Soldiers ranging, lighted upon the Body of Capt. *Turner* about *Greens River*, in paſſing of which ſtream he was ſuppoſed to have received his mortal wounds.

While our Forces continued thereabouts, they did the Enemy ſome little ſpoil in ſeizing much of their Fiſh, and goods ſtollen from the Engliſh, and hid in their barns under ground; conjecturing alſo that they found 4 or 5 places vvhere ſome of the Engliſh had been tortured to death by cruel burning, after they had been faſtned between ſtakes ſet in the ground: but not meeting with any of the Enemy, they all haſtned homewards, conceiving that having been forced from their Quarters in thoſe parts, they were drawn down lower towards the Engliſh Plantations eaſtward, *viz.* *Plimouth* and the *Maſſachuſets*. What ſucceſs Capt. *Henchman*'s Forces had in their retiring homeward, and what they obſerved of the motion of the *Indians*, take in the words of his own Letter, *June* 30----*Our Scouts brought intelligence, that all the* Indians *were in a continual motion, ſome toward* Narhaganſet, *others toward* Watchuſet, *ſhifting gradually, and taking up each others Quarters, and lay not above a night in a place. They* 27 ditto, *brought in two Squaws, a boy and a girl, giving account of five ſlain. Yeſterday, they brought in an old fellow brother to a Sachim, ſix Squaws and children, having killed five men, and wounded o-*

thers,

there, if we killed them, as they supposed by the blood found in the way, and an Hat shot through. These, and the other inform, that Philip *and the* Narhaganſets *were gone ſeveral days before to their own places,* Philips *purpoſe being to do what miſchief he could to the Engliſh. By advice, I drew out a commanded Party under the conduct of Capt.* Sill, viz. *ſixteen Files of Engliſh, all my Troop, and the* Indians, *excepting one File, being all we could make proviſion for: for what with the falling ſhort of the Bread promiſed us, and a great deal of that we had proving mouldy, the reſt of the Forces had but one Biſket a man to bring them to this place: This party were ordered toward* Watchuſet, *and ſo to* Naſhaway *and the* Waſhakem Ponds, *where we have notice* Indians *were, and ſo to return unto this place: where by your Honours Letter that came to me yeſterday morning, I underſtood that proviſion was ordered for us; and which we found to our great relief, laſt night, coming hither weary and hungry. The commanded Party we left at* Quonſiquomon, *where they intended to ſtay a while for the laſt Scouts we ſent out: Eleven Priſoners we had in all, two of the oldeſt by counſel we put to death, the other nine the Commiſſary is ordered to convey to* Boſton, *with the Baggage, Horſes, and ſome of their attendants not fit for the Service.*

Daniel Henchman.

It appears plainly by the contents of the ſaid Letter, as well as by many other teſtimonies, that about this time the *Indians* our Enemies, who hitherto had been linked together as Brethren in iniquity and cruelty, were now ſtrangely divided and ſeparated the one from the other: ſome impute it to an aſſault made upon them by the *Mohawkes*, who falling upon *Philip* with the Inland-Indians, ſlew about fifty of them: whereupon they of *Philips* Company reſolved to return to their own Country, and do what miſchief they could to the Engliſh thereabouts: This was reported by an *Indian* brought to *Scaconk*, *June* 29. 1676, taken at *Providence*. Others are ready to think, that it was upon ſome quarrel amongſt themſelves, occaſioned by an evil ſpirit ſent from God upon them, that thereby they might, being ſcattered, the more eaſily be taken and ruined by the Engliſh, now that the time of vengeance was come, when they ſhall be called to an account for all their former outrages and cruelties: for now is the ſnare haſtning upon them, wherein they ſhall be hampered in their own devices, ſo to be taken and deſtroyed: it cannot but be acknowledged as a very remarkable Providence, that Capt. *Henchman* in his late expedition to *Hadley*, killed and took about eighty four of the Enemy, without the loſs of any one of his own men: the

like favourable ſucceſs hapned to Major *Talcot*, in his paſſage from *Norwich* to *Quabaog*, as was ſaid before, and ſoon after his return.

But by that time our Forces were returned home as far as *Sudbury*, they were ordered upon the ſolicitation of the Governour of *Plimouth*, two Companies of them at leaſt, to march away immediately to *Dedham*, and ſo to *Scaconk* or *Rehoboth*, to join with Major *Bradford* in the purſuit of *Philip*, who as it ſeems with many hundreds of his barbarous Followers were fallen upon the Engliſh Plantations thereabouts, and whither alſo a little before, Capt. *Brattle* with a Troop of Horſe, and Capt. *Moſely* with a Foot-Company were ſent up from *Boſton* to purſue after them, now flocking in great numbers into thoſe Woods; there was at this time no ſmall hope of ſurprizing *Philip*: ſeveral reports being brought that he was ſeen in this and that place, not with above twenty or thirty men attending on him: but his time was not yet fully come, nor had he as yet fully accompliſhed all that miſchief he was like to be ſuffered to do: For upon *July* 1*ſt*, 1676, a party of his *Indians* committed an horrid and barbarous Murder upon Mr. *Hezekiah Willet* in *Swanzy*, an hopeful young Gentleman as any in thoſe parts; they uſed frequently to keep a Sentinel on the top of their Houſe, from a Watch-houſe built thereon, whence they could diſcover any *Indians* before they came near the Houſe; but not hearing of the Enemy in thoſe parts for a conſiderable time, that neceſſary piece of circumſpection was omitted that day, whereby that deſerving perſon was betrayed into their cruel hands: for within a quarter of an hour after he went out of his own doors, within ſight of his Houſe, he was ſhot at by three of them at once, from every one of whom he received a mortal wound; they after their barbarous manner took off his head, and carried it away with them (which yet was ſoon after retrieved) leaving the Trunk of his body behind, as a ſad monument of their inhumane cruelty; the ſame *Indians*, not being above thirty in number, took away a *Negro* belonging to the ſame Family, who being faithful to his Maſters, and the Countries intereſt, ventured his life to make his eſcape, which was the preſervation of many others; for the ſaid *Negro* being a little acquainted with their Language, diſcovered to the Engliſh after his eſcape, *Philip's* purpoſe to ſeize ſuch and ſuch places: in the firſt place to aſſault *Taunton*, which in probability had been in great danger, if their treacherous plots and purpoſes had not ſo wonderfully been made known beforehand. The ſaid *Negro* affirmed, that there was near a thouſand of them; for he obſerved, that although they had killed twenty head of Neat Cattle over night, yet there was not any part of them left the

next day at Eight of the Clock in the morning, By this ſpecial Providence the Enemy was defeated of their purpoſe, and never after had any opportunity of doing any conſiderable damage to the Engliſh in that part of the Country. So as after this day we may truly date the time of our Deliverance, and beginning of Revenges upon the Enemy: Now is their own turn come, when it ſhall be done unto them, as they have ſerved us: They that before led others into Captivity, muſt themſelves henceforth go into Captivity: And they that killed with the Sword, muſt themſelves be killed with the Sword, as in the Sequel of the Narrative will abundantly be manifeſt; The Hiſtory of which, before we ſhall any farther purſue, we muſt a little while wait upon our Friends, (thoſe Forces ſent from *Connecticut*) in their return back into their own Colony, which before it be done, ſome things ſhould be premiſed concerning the occaſion of their coming, and the Succeſs that did attend them in their march thither.

Our Friends and Brethren of that Colony, although they had never actually felt half of thoſe miſeries that befell the people of the other two, yet never denyed their Aſſiſtance to the ſuppreſſing of the common Enemy, yea, ſometimes they did afford it before it was expreſſy deſired; according to the Tenor of the Articles of Confederation, and Rules of common prudence; conſidering that if the fire of this War were not timely extinguiſhed, it would endanger their own *Fabrick*: Therefore according to Agreement, the Councel of that Colony ordered their ſucceſsful Commander Major *Talcot* to meet with our Forces at *Brookfield*, or *Quabaog* in order to the purſuing of the Enemy in thoſe parts: In the way as they were from *Norwich* marching thither, Divine Providence ſo far ſmiled upon the Enterprize, as to give them an opportunity to ſurprize Fifty one of the Enemy, of whom Nineteen were ſlain, without the loſs of any one of their own Company, which could not but much enhanſe the price of the victory to the Conquerors.

The like ſucceſs had their Friends which they left behind (the Volunteers gathered out of the Three Towns by the Sea ſide, *New London*, *Stonington*, and *Norwich*) and who were ſome of them releaſed by Major *Talcot*, when he firſt began his March, that they might the better in the abſence of the Army, guard their own Towns: for before the return of the Forces under Major *Talcot*, to that ſide of the Country, they had made two Expeditions againſt their Enemies the *Narhaganſetts*, that were ſculking up and down on that ſide of the Country; In one of which they killed and took above Thirty, the moſt of which being men, are ſaid to have been ſlain by them.

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In the other about Forty five, the moſt of which probably were women and Children, but being all young Serpents of the ſame brood, the ſubduing or taking ſo many, ought to be acknowledged as another ſignal victory, and pledg of Divine favour to the Engliſh. But to return, it was not without the ſpecial direction of Providence that thoſe *Hartford* Forces were ſent to thoſe Weſtern Towns a week before thoſe of the *Maſſachuſets* could get thither; for otherwiſe one or more of thoſe Towns might have been loſt; ſeeing that on the Twelfth of *June*, ſoon after, if not the next day, after they arrived there, the Enemy, as if reſolved to try the utmoſt of their power, violently aſſaulted the Town of *Hadly*, with a body of about Seven hundred men, at five or ſix in the morning, laying an Ambuſh at one end of the Town, while the greater part of them were alarming the other: But the *Connecticut* Forces being at that time quartered in the Towns thereabouts, (who were Engliſh, and friendly *Indians*, *Pequods*, and *Mohegins*, about Five hundred in all) that were ready at hand, beſides theſe that had been quartered there ever ſince *March*, (who had been left by Major *Savage* when he left thoſe parts, under the Command and Charge of Captain *Turner*, ſlain at the great Falls, as is noted before, but ſince commanded by Captain *Swain*). Theſe by their joynt and ready reſiſtance, wherein the Fence of Pallizadoes ſurrounding the Town, was no little advantage, gave the *Indians* ſuch a ſmart Repulſe, that they found the place too hot for them to abide it. For the Soldiers or Towns-men within, firing a piece of Ordnance, it ſo affrighted the Salvages, or a party of them, againſt whom it was diſcharged, that although they had juſt before ſurprized, and poſſeſſed an Houſe at the North end of the Town, if Information miſtake not, yet they inſtantly fled, leaving ſome of their dead upon the place; Nor did they any conſiderable miſchief with all their numbers, ſave firing a Barn about that end of the Town, and ſlaying Two or three of the Soldiers, or too daring Inhabitants, who would againſt expreſs order adventure to go without the Fortification.

It was accounted by ſome, that were preſent near the time of that Aſſault, a great over-ſight, that having ſo fair an opportunity to chaſe the Enemy upon ſo conſiderable advantage, it was let ſlip, and not improved: For *Connecticut* Soldiers being all, or moſt of them furniſhed with Horſes, they might have been ſoon overtaken, and many of them deſtroyed; but God hid it from their eyes: The Commander in chief, it is ſaid, quartered at one of the Towns on the Weſt ſide of the River, and did not apprehend the advantage, till the Seaſon was over. Nor was any ſuch thing as an Aſſault expected from the Enemy, ſo early in the morning;

morning; it being a general obſervation heretofore, that they ſeldom, or never uſed to make any Attempt in the night time; part of which could not but be improved in way of preparation for ſuch a deſign.

But the Lord of Hoſts who is wiſe in Counſel, and wonderful in working, would find ſome other way to deſtroy our Enemies, wherein the hand of his Providence, ſhould more remarkably be ſeen, that ſo no fleſh ſhould glory in its own wiſdom or ſtrength, but that Salvation might appear to be from the Lord alone. The reſt of this Month was ſpent without any other matter of moment happening therein.

The Governor and Council of the *Maſſacuſets*, taking into ſerious conſideration, the many merciful Occurrents that had been returned upon us, notwithſtanding the mixing of many diſpenſations of a contrary nature, accounted themſelves bound to make ſome publick acknowledgment thereof, to him whoſe Name alone is worthy to be praiſed. The 29*th* of that Month of *June*, was ſet a part as a day of publick Thankſgiving to God, who had remembred his people thus in their low Eſtate. And that matter of Thankſgiving might not be wanting at the day appointed, the very day before were moſt of our Engliſh Captives brought back from the *Indians*, and many more ſoon after, to the number of Sixteen, whoſe mouths might then well be filled with Laughter, and their Tongues with ſinging, both of themſelves, and all that were any ways concerned in their welfare.

And as this day appointed for ſolemn and publick Thankſgiving, was uſhered in by ſeveral ſpecial mercies, ſo alſo was it followed with many remarkable benefits.

For beſides the preſerving the Town of *Northampton*, *March* the 14*th*, and *Hadly*, *June* the 12*th*, by the opportune ſending of our Forces the very night before they were Aſſaulted: The ſaving the people of *Marlborough* from being cut off, was very obſervable, when *Mr. Graves* by his occaſional going from the Sermon, being forced thereunto by the extremity of the Tooth-Ach, *March* 26, diſcovered the *Indians* ready to Aſſault the Town, and the people might have been cut off, had not that Accident Intervened. It is certain, that after the end of this Month, the power of the Enemy began every where to fail; for the Body of the Enemy, that had lurked about *Connecticut* River all this Spring, being viſited with ſundry diſeaſes, diſappointed of their fiſhing and put by their planting, began to fall at variance amongſt themſelves; the *Hadly* and *Pocumtuck Indians* quarrelling with *Philip* for fetching all this miſchief about, and occaſioning the Engliſh and them to fall out, with whom they had always good correſpondence, and lived lovingly together,

together, but now they were like to be ruined by the War. This quarrel proceeded to that height, that from that time forward, thoſe ſeveral *Indians* that had for ſo long time been combined together, reſolved now to part, and every one to ſhift for themſelves, and return to their own homes: *Philip* to *Mount-hope*, and the *Narhaganſets* to their own Country again: the *Nipnets* and the *River-Indians*, bending their courſe ſome Weſtward, others Northward towards *Pennicook* upon *Merrimack*, intending to ſhift for themſelves as well as they could for the future; all which is like to be the real and true ſtate of the Caſe with the *Indians* which were our Enemies: for the next News we heard of *Philip*, was, that he was gotten back to *Mount-Hope*, now like to become *Mount-Miſery* unto him, and his Vagabond Crew, and that his Friends and Allies, that had hitherto ſtood as Neuters, waiting only which way the Scale of Succeſs and Victory would turn, began now to ſue for mercy at the hands of the Engliſh: The *Maſſachuſets* Government having underſtood ſomething of this nature, put forth a *Declaration*, that whatſoever *Indians* ſhould within Fourteen days next enſuing come in to the Engliſh, might hope for mercy.

Amongſt ſundry that came in, there was one named *James* the *Printer*, the Superadded Title diſtinguiſhing him from others of that name: who being a notorious Apoſtate, that had learned ſo much of the Engliſh, as not only to read and write, but had attained likewiſe ſome skill in Printing, and might have attained more, (had he not like a falſe Villain ran away from his Maſter before his time was out) he having ſeen and read the ſaid *Declaration* of the Engliſh, did venture himſelf upon the Faith thereof, and came to ſue for his Life; he affirmed, with others that came along with him, that more *Indians* had dyed ſince this War began of diſeaſes (ſuch as at other times they uſed not to be acquainted withal) than by the Sword of the Engliſh.

Not long after many of them came and offered themſelves, to the number of near Two hundred, Men, Women, and Children; and many more would have done the like, but their *Conſciouſneſs* of guilt made them conclude, that their cruelties and barbarous Murthers could never be forgiven by the Engliſh.

But what *Occurrents* happened next ſhall be declared in their order.

About the end of *June* News was brought to *Boſton*, that *Philip* with a ſmall party of his men, lurked about *Swanzy* or *Rehoboth*, & that he might eaſily be taken, an *Indian* offering to bring them to the place where they might find him; whereupon Soldiers was inſtantly ſent away from *Boſton*, who ſpent ſome time in ſearching all the woods on that ſide the Country,

but

but at laſt were forced to return, having miſſed of what they aimed at.

Plimouth Colony likewiſe ſent out Soldiers upon the ſame account under Major *Bradford*, who by the help of ſome *Indians* of *Cape Cod*, always true to the Engliſh intereſt, not only eſcaped an Ambuſh laid for them, whereby moſt of them might have been cut off, but ſlew many of thoſe that laid wait for them, without any loſs to themſelves: yea further, a Squaw Sachim of *Sakonet*, one of *Philips* Allies, having firſt ſent three Meſſengers to the Governour of *Plimouth* to ſue for life and liberty, promiſing ſubmiſſion to their Government on that condition; but underſtanding the *Plimouth Forces* were abroad, before her Meſſengers were returned, ſhe with her People, about ninety in number, rendred themſelves up to Major *Bradford*, ſo that above one hundred and ten were killed, and taken upon compoſition that day.

The like ſucceſs had the *Connecticut Forces* ſent into the *Narhaganſet* Country, under the Conduct of the wonderful ſucceſsful Major *Talcot*, Capt. *George Deniſon*, Capt. *Newbery*, with other worthy Commanders of the ſaid Forces; for about the ſecond of *July*, 1676, as the ſaid Commanders with the Forces under them were purſuing the Enemy in and about the *Narhaganſet* Country toward *Mount-hope*, hearing that *Philip* with his black Regiment of *Wompanoogs* was thereabouts, their *Indian* Scouts from the top of an Hill diſcovered a great number of the Enemy that had newly pitched their ſtation within the ſemicircle of a Swamp. The Engliſh Soldiers were all mounted on Horſeback, to the number of near three hundred; wherefore the Commanders ordered the *Indians* to be ready at the top of the Hill upon a ſignal given to run down amain upon the Enemy, ſecurely lodged in the hollow of the Swamp juſt oppoſite againſt them, while their Horſemen were divided into two ſquadrons to ride round the Hill, ſo that at the ſame inſtant, both the Horſemen upon the two wings, and the *Indians* a-foot ruſhing down ſuddenly upon the Enemy, put them to an horrible fright, making a lamentable outcry, ſome getting into the Swamp, the reſt that were prevented by the Horſemen, and the friendly *Indians* coming ſo ſuddenly upon them, were all taken priſoners; Capt *Newbery* with his Troop alighting from their Horſes, ran into the Swamp after them, where they killed at leaſt an hundred, as was judged by ſome then preſent; taking alſo many priſoners out of thoſe habitations of darkneſs, the Enemy ſcarce daring to make any reſiſtance; for none of the Engliſh, and but one or two of the *Mohegins* and *Pequods* were hurt in that aſſault: Yet it was affirmed by a Captain preſent on the place, that with thoſe they killed and took at *Warwick-neck*, in their return home (which were not much above ſixty)

they killed and took of the Enemy at that time above three hundred young and old. At the ſame time was taken the old Squaw of *Narhaganſet*, commonly called *the old Queen*.

They were neceſſitated with this booty to return homewards to gratifie the *Mohegin* and *Pequod Indians* that accompanied them, who had done them very good ſervice in the purſuit, having loſt one or two of their men in the Chaſe: But their return home, was, as it proved in the iſſue, more beneficial than their longer ſtay might have been, to have made a fruitleſs purſuit after *Philip* (whoſe time was not yet come, although haſtning apace); for in their return they met ſixty of the Enemy, all of them they ſlew and took, ſo as their Swords returned not empty.

Within a few days after, two hundred of the Enemy within *Plimouth* Juriſdiction being diſtreſſed with Famine, and fear of danger, came and ſubmitted themſelves to the Governour there: But three of the company were preſently detected of a cruel murther, and villanous aſſault upon one Mr. *Clarkes* houſe of *Plimouth*, by a well-minded Squaw that was among them (hoping that poſſibly ſuch a diſcovery would be pleaſing to the Engliſh) and accordingly adjudged forthwith to undergo condign puniſhment, which the reſt that ſurrendred themſelves were no vvhit troubled at, ſuch kind of Villains being always exempted from all acts of favour and mercy. Thoſe two hundred that had newly ſurrendred themſelves, that they might give full proof of their fidelity, offered to lead a Party of the Engliſh to a place not far off, where twenty more of the Enemy might be ſurprized, amongſt whom alſo was one, known to be a bloody murtherer of an Engliſh man that year before; accordingly eight Engliſh men took fourteen of the ſaid *Indians*, and the next day brought in all the aforeſaid twenty of the Enemy with the ſaid murtherer; who was preſently executed, the reſt being accepted into favour.

It is affirmed likewiſe, that five or ſix Sachims of *Cape Cod*, towards the Eaſtern part of it, came with three hundred *Indians* to make peace with the Engliſh, on the 6*th* of *July*; one of the ſaid Sachims earneſtly deſiring the Engliſh, that none of them might be ſuffered to ſell any ſtrong Liquors to the *Indians*, the trading of which, poſſibly hath had no ſmall influence into the preſent miſchefs.

The next day, *July* the 7*th*, a ſmall party of ours, with a few friendly or Chriſtian *Indians* with them, killed and took ſeven of the Enemy in the Woods not far from *Dedham*, one of which was a *Narhaganſet* Sachim: who either himſelf, informed, or by ſome other at that time, certain intelligence was brought to *Boſton*, that ſome of our Enemy *Indians* were gotten to *Albany*, informing the people there, that they might the more

more easily get powder and Ammunition, that the English and they were now at peace: One of the said *Indians* was the Sachim of *Springfield*, a bloody and deceitful Villain; It is hoped that he is now taken in the snare from wheuce he shall never be suffered to escape.

Philip by this time could not but think his ruin hastned apace, yet that he might in imitation of him that stirred up all this mischief, express the more wrath, because he knew his time was but short, intended if possible, to destroy one Town more of the English before his turn came; wherefore *July* 11, with all the Forces he could get, or that he had left, he intended to set upon *Taunton*, having as was conceived, many hundreds in his company; but his design being strangely discovered by a *Negro*, whom they had taken captive a little before, that having lived near the *Indians* before, understood much of their Language, who making his escape from them, acquainted the Inhabitants with the plot; who having timely notice, furnished themselves with Soldiers, whereby they they were able to repulse the Enemy upon the first approach: so as he only fired two Houses, and then fled away; *Except the Lord keepeth the City, the Watchmen watcheth but in vain.*

The 22*d* of this month of *July*, as is hinted before, the Companies sent from *Concord*, *May* 30, up towards *Hadly*, having spent much time and pains in pursuit of *Philip* all the Country over (whom they could not yet overtake) having tired themselves with many long and tedious Marches through the desert Woods: before they returned home, some of them were sent toward *Mount-hope*, yet was their labour well improved, and followed with good success at the last: for, in ranging those Woods in *Plimouth Colony*, they killed and took, by the help of Capt. *Mosely*'s Company, and Capt. *Brattles* Troop joyning with Major *Bradfords* Company of *Plimouth Colony*, an hundred and fifty *Indians*, with the loss of never an English man.

It was feared that *Philip* and his Company would have returned into the *Nipnet-Country*; to prevent which, several Horsemen were sent to guard the passage; but he lurked about his own Country in Swamps and other secret places, where he was yet hid from the sight of the English, although many times they hapned to lodg very near him, insomuch as an *Indian* Captive promised in two hours time to bring our Soldiers to the very place where he was; but they not being able to pass the neareſt vvay, came a little too late; for they being so hotly pursued, hasted away, leaving much of their treasure behind them, their Kettles boyling over the fire, their dead unburied, and twenty of their party vvere overtaken, that fell into the English hands: *Philip* himself, and some

few of his ſtragling followers, make their eſcape by a Raft over an arm of the Sea, into another Neck of Land on *Pocaſſet* ſide, not daring to truſt himſelf any longer in *Metapoyſet* Woods, ſo full of our Engliſh Soldiers, as well thoſe of *Plimouth*, as of the *Maſſachuſets Colony*, who almoſt every day meeting with ſome of his party, much leſſened his number. Capt. *Church*, that active and unwearied Commander of *Plimouth Colony*, was at this time as well as long before, out upon the chaſe with but eighteen Engliſh, and twenty two *Indians* that were friends; had four ſeveral Engagements with *Philips* party, wherein he ſpoiled ſeventy ſix of the Enemy, without the loſs of one of his own men. In ſeveral of theſe skirmiſhes, thoſe *Indians* that upon ſubmiſſion had their lives given them, have done notable ſervice in hunting out the Enemy in all their lurking places.

At another time they took *Philips Squaw*, and one of his chief Councellors; and about that ſame time, another Sachim about *Pocaſſet*, with forty *Indians*, ſubmitted himſelf to the Government of *Plimouth*, on promiſe of life and liberty.

It ſeemed that now the time of our deliverance was come, and the time alſo for the deſtruction of our Enemies: for the laſt week in *July*, the *Maſſachuſets* underſtanding that ſome *Indians* were ſeen roving up and down the Woods about *Dedham*, almoſt ſtarved for want of Victuals, ſent a ſmall Company of twenty ſix Soldiers, with about nine or ten Chriſtian *Indians*, who purſued and took fifty of the Enemy, without any loſs to the Engliſh; at which time alſo, a good quantity of *Wampumpeag* and powder was taken from the Enemy. That which encreaſed this Victory was the ſlaughter of *Pomham*, who was one of the ſtouteſt and moſt valiant Sachims that belonged to the *Narhaganſets*; whoſe courage and ſtrength was ſo great, that after he had been mortally wounded in the fight, ſo as himſelf could not ſtand: yet catching hold of an Engliſh-man that by accident came near him, had done him a miſchief, if he had not been preſently reſcued by one of his Fellows. Amongſt the reſt of the Captives at that time, was one of the ſaid *Pumhams* ſons, a very likely youth, and one whoſe countenance would have beſpoke favour for him, had he not belonged to ſo bloody and barbarous an *Indian* as his Father was.

Theſe ſucceſſes being daily bruited abroad among the *Indians*, put many of them into a trembling condition, not knowing well how to diſpoſe of themſelves: ſome that had been leſs active in theſe Tragedies, and were rather led by others, than any wiſe inclined to miſchief themſelves, adventured to ſubmit themſelves, of which number was one of

Nipnet Sachims, called *Sagamore John*, who *July* 27, came to surrender himself to the Governour and Council of the *Massachusets* at *Boston*, bringing along with him One hundred and eighty of the Enemy *Indians*. This *John* that he might the more ingratiate himself with the English, whose friendship he was now willing to seek after, did by a wile get into his hands one *Matoonas*, an old malicious Villain, who was the first that did any mischief within the *Massachusets Colony*, *July* 14. 1675, bearing an old grudge against them as is thought, for justice that was done upon one of his Sons, 1671, whose Head ever since stands upon a Pole near the Gibbet where he was hanged up: the bringing in of this malicious Caitiff, was an hopeful presage, that it would not be long before *Philip* himself, the grand Villain, would in like manner receive a just reward of his wickedness and Murders.

Sagamore John, that came in *July* 27, affirmed, that he had never intended any mischief to the English at *Brookefield* the last year (near which Village it seems his place was) but that *Philip* coming over-night amongst them, he was forced, for fear of his own life, to joyn with them against the English. *Matoonas* also, when he was brought before the Council, and asked what he had to say for himself, confessed that he had rightly deserved Death, and could expect no other; adding withal, that if he had followed their Counsel he had not come to this: for he had often seemed to favour the Praying *Indians*, and the Christian Religion, but like *Simon Magus*, by his after practise, discovered quickly, that he had no part nor portion in that matter.

About this time several parties of English, within *Plimouth* Jurisdiction, were willing to have a hand in so good a matter, as catching of *Philip* would be, who perceiving that he was now going down the wind, were willing to hasten his fall. Amongst others a small party, *July* 31, went out of *Bridgwater* upon discovery, and by providence were directed to fall upon a Company of *Indians* where *Philip* was; they came up with them, and killed some of his special Friends; *Philip* himself was next to his Uncle, that was shot down, and had the Soldier had his choice which to shoot at, known which had been the right Bird, he might as well have taken him as his Uncle; but 'tis said that he had newly cut off his Hair, that he might not be known: the party that did this exploit were few in number, and therefore not being able to keep altogether close in the Reer, that cunning Fox escaped away through the Bushes undiscerned in the Reer of the English: that which was most remarkable in this design, was that trembling fear discerned to be upon the *Indians* at this time, insomuch that one of them having a Gun in his hand

hand well laden, yet was not able to ſhoot it off, but ſuffered an Engliſh Soldier to come cloſe up to his breaſt, and ſo ſhot him down, the other not being able to make any reſiſtance: nor was any of the Engliſh hurt at this time.

The like terror was ſeen in others at that time: for within two days after, Capt. *Church*, the terror of the *Indians* in *Plimouth* Colony, marching in purſuit of *Philip*, with but Thirty Engliſh-men, and Twenty reconciled *Indians*, took Twenty three of the Enemy, and the next day following them by their Tracks, fell upon their head-quarters, and killed and took about an hundred and thirty of them, but with the loſs of one Engliſh man: in this engagement God did appear in a more than ordinary manner to fight for the Engliſh: for the *Indians* by their number, and other advantages of the place, were ſo conveniently provided, that they might have made the firſt ſhot at the Engliſh, and done them much damage; but one of their own Country-men in Capt. *Church*'s Company, eſpying them, called aloud unto them in their own Language, telling them, *that if they ſhot a Gun, they were all dead men*; with which they were ſo amazed, that they durſt not once offer to fire at the Engliſh, which made the victory the more remarkable: *Philip* made a very narrow eſcape at that time, being forced to leave his Treaſures, his beloved Wife and only Son, to the mercy of the Engliſh, *Skin for skin, all that a man hath will he give for his life*: His ruine being thus gradually carried on, his miſery was not prevented but augmented thereby; being himſelf made acquainted with the ſence and experimental feeling of the Captivity of his Children, loſs of his Friends, ſlaughter of his Subjects, bereavement of all Family Relations, and being ſtript of all outward Comforts, before his own life ſhould be taken away. Such Sentence ſometime paſſed upon *Cain*, made him cry out, *that his puniſhment was greater than he could bear.*

This bloody wretch hath one week or two more to live, an object of pity, but a ſpectacle of Divine vengeance; his own Followers beginning now to plot againſt his life, to make the better tearms for their own; as they did alſo ſeek to betray *Squaw Sachim* of *Pocaſſet*, *Philip*'s near Kinſ-woman and Confederate. For,

Auguſt 6. An *Indian* willing to ſhift for himſelf, fled to *Taunton*, offering to lead any of the Engliſh that would follow him, to a party of *Indians*, which they might eaſily apprehend; which Twenty attempted, and accordingly ſeized the whole Company, to the number of twenty ſix; all but that Squaw Sachim her ſelf, who intending to make an eſcape from the danger, attempted to get over a River, or arm of the Sea near by,

by, upon a Raft or ſome pieces of broken wood; but whether tired and ſpent with ſwimming, or ſtarved with cold and hunger, ſhe was found ſtark naked in *Metapoiſet*, not far from the water-ſide; which made ſome think, that ſhe was firſt half drowned, and ſo ended her wretched life juſt in that place where the year before ſhe had helped *Philip* to make his eſcape: her head being cut off and ſet upon a Pole in *Taunton*, was known by ſome *Indians* then Priſoners, which ſet them into an horrid Lamentation; but ſuch was the righteous hand of God, in bringing at the laſt that miſchief upon themſelves, which they had without cauſe thus long acted againſt others.

Philip, like a Salvage and wild Beaſt, having been hunted by the Engliſh Forces through the Woods, above an hundred miles backward and forward, at laſt was driven to his own Den, upon *Mount-hope*, where retiring himſelf, with a few of his beſt Friends into a Swamp, which proved but a Priſon to keep him faſt, till the Meſſengers of death came by Divine permiſſion to execute vengeance upon him, which was thus accompliſhed.

Such had been his inveterate malice and wickedneſs againſt the Engliſh, that deſpairing of mercy from them, he could not bear that any thing ſhould be ſuggeſted to him about a Peace, inſomuch as he cauſed one of his Confederates to be killed, for propounding an expedient of peace; which ſo provoked ſome of his Company, not altogether ſo deſperate as himſelf, that one of them (being near of kin to him that was killed) fled to Road-Iſland, (whither, that active Champion Capt. *Church* was newly retired, to recruit his men for a little time, being much tired with hard marches all that week) informing them that *Philip* was fled to a Swamp in *Mount hope*, whither he would undertake to lead them that would purſue him. This was welcom news, and the beſt Cordial for ſuch Martial Spirits: whereupon he immediately, with a ſmall Company of men, part Engliſh and part *Indians*, began another March, which ſhall prove fatal to *Philip*, and end that controverſie betwixt the Engliſh and him: for coming very early to the ſide of the Swamp, his Soldiers began preſently to ſurround it, and whether the Devil appeared to him in a Dream that night, as he did unto *Saul*, foreboding his Tragical end (it matters not); as he intended to make his eſcape out of the Swamp, he was ſhot through the Heart by an *Indian* of his own Nation, as is ſaid, that had all this vvhile kept himſelf in a neutrality until this time, but novv had the caſting-vote in his povver, by vvhich he determined the quarrel that had held ſo long in ſuſpence, in him is fulfilled vvhat vvas ſaid in the Prophet, *Wa to thee that ſpoileſt, and thou waſt not ſpoiled, and dealeſt treacherouſly*

treacherouſly and they dealt not treacherouſly with thee; when thou ſhalt ceaſe to ſpoil, thou ſhalt be ſpoiled: and when thou ſhalt make an end to deal treacherouſly, they ſhall deal treacherouſly with thee, Iſa. 33. 1.

With *Philip* at this time fell five of his trueſt Followers, of whom one was ſaid to be the Son of his chief Captain, that had ſhot the firſt Gun at the Engliſh the year before. This was done *Auguſt* 12. 1676, a remarkable teſtimony of divine favour to the Colony of *Plimouth*, who had for their former ſucceſſes, appointed the 17*th* day of *Auguſt* following, to be kept as a day of ſolemn Thankſgiving to Almighty God. There having been ſo ſtrange a turn of providence obſerved in the late ſucceſſes obtained in and about *Plimouth* Colony, it may not be amiſs here to enquire into the occaſions that did lead thereunto, and alſo into the progreſs and continuance thereof, after the ſlaughter of *Philip* that grand Rebel.

In the precedent Narration frequent mention hath been made of one Capt. *Church*, whom God hath made an inſtrument of ſignal Victories over the *Indians* in that Colony, and of great advantage in that reſpect to that whole Juriſdiction. It hapned that the ſaid Capt. *Church* ſome time in *June* laſt, *viz.* of this preſent year, 1676, paſſing over in a Canoo, from *Pocaſſet* to *Road Iſland*, as he uſed frequently to do (having had much imployment upon the ſaid Neck of Land, ſo called) ſeveral *Indians* whom he had known before at *Lakenham* (a Village near *Pocaſſet*) beckned to him, as if they had a mind to ſpeak with him; he having had ſo much experience as well as others of their Treachery, was not willing to adventure preſently to come near them; but when they ſeemed to urge very much, and made many ſigns to him, and at laſt laid down their Guns in his ſight, he began to think with himſelf, there might be ſomething in the matter more than ordinary, therefore reſolved to go a little nearer to the ſhore, and then he perceived they had a great mind to ſpeak with him, uſing much importunity for that end, inſomuch as he ventured to go a ſhore amongſt them, having but one Engliſh-man, and two *Indians* with him; he directed them to keep off the Canoo, while he diſcourſed with the *Indians* aſhore: as ſoon as ever he came amongſt them, they told him they were weary of fighting, and that they had fought ſo long by *Philip*'s inſtigation, but they could not tell for what end, and therefore were reſolved they would fight no longer; and that which they deſired of him, only was, that he would make way for them to the Governour, that they may live quietly amongſt the Engliſh, as they had done before, and that they would deliver up their Arms, or would go out with them, if he pleaſed to accept of them, and fight for him:

to

to that end they desired a time to parly with him further about that business, at what time and place he would appoint: He told them he would meet them two days after at *Saconet*, a place up higher upon the said neck, about twelve a clock; accordingly he came to the said place, and found the same *Indians*, with some others, and their *Sunke Squaw*, or chief Woman of that *Indian* Plantation, there ready to meet him.

After they had fallen into discourse about the beginning of the War, as well as the success and mischief of it, they would have put the blame off from themselves, and laid it upon the English: But he presently convinced them by an undeniable evidence, that they first began the War; For said he upon this *Pocasset*, July 7, 1675, you first fought with some of *Road-Island*, whereof one was my own servant, whose leg you broke, and the same day you shot at my self and Company, before ever we medled with you: They were so fully convinced herewith, that they found nothing to reply, but fell into other discourse about a peace, which they seemed very desirous to obtain upon any equal terms, as was said before.

There were about fifteen of the *Indians* present, beside their *Sunke Squaw* (which is with us their Governess or Lady); in conclusion they engaged for ever after to leave *Philip*, and to go out with him; which they did forthwith, as soon as he had obtained a peace for them with the Governour.

It is here to be minded, that these were not properly *Philip*'s *Indians*, but belonged to the *Sakonet Squaw*, who was nearly related to *Philip*, and her Subjects had hitherto fought in *Philip*'s Quarrel, till they saw nothing but misery and mischief like to be the issue of it to themselves, as well as their neighbours. About twenty or thirty of these *Sakonet Indians* have constantly gone out with Capt. *Church* ever since, and not only been faithful and serviceable to him, but very successful in every enterprise they have gone about; nor hath he lost any of them in any skirmish with the other *Indians*; And it is said that this act of these *Indians* broke *Philip*'s heart as soon as ever he understood it, so as he never joyed after, or had any success in any of his designs, but lost his men one time after another, till himself at last fell into the hands of these *Indians* under Capt. *Churches* Command: For at the swamp when *Philip* was slain, Capt. *Church* appointed an English-man and an *Indian* to stand at such a place of the swamp, where it hapned that *Philip* was breaking away; the morning being wet and rainy, the English-mans Gun would not fire, the *Indian* having an old Musket with a large

touch-hole, it took fire the more readily, with which *Philip* was diſpatched, the bullet paſſing directly through his heart, where *Joab* thruſt his darts into rebellious *Abſalom*.

Thus did Divine vengeance retalliate upon this notorious Traitor, that had againſt his League and Covenant riſen up againſt the Government of *Plimouth*, to raiſe up againſt him one of his own people, or one that was in league with him, as he was with the Engliſh: The *Indian* that did this execution was called *Alderman* of *Sakonet* that had never done any act of hoſtility againſt the Engliſh.

By theſe paſſages it is manifeſt, that as *the hearts of all are in the hand of God ſo he turns them as he pleaſes*, either to favour his people, or to hate and deal ſubtilly with his Servants, as ſeems good to him.

Since this engagement with the *Sakonet Indians*, to leave *Philip*, and to go out with Capt. *Church*, it is credibly affirmed; that ſuch hath been their ſucceſs, that ſince *June* aforeſaid, to the end of *October* next following, there have been ſeven hundred *Indians* ſubdued, either by killing or taking Captive, by the means of Capt. *Church* and his Company, part *Indians*, and part Engliſh, beſides three hundred that have come in voluntarily to ſubmit themſelves to the Government of *Plimouth*.

It appears thus by the ſequel of things, that after the Lord hath accompliſhed his work upon his people, that he is beginning to call his enemies to an account, and puniſh them for the pride of their hearts, and for all their treachery and cruelty againſt his Servants.

Philip's Captains have run the ſame fate with himſelf, ſome before and ſome after his own Fall.

In *June* laſt one *Tiaſhq* a great Captain of his, his Wife and Child, or Children being taken, though he eſcaped himſelf at firſt, yet came ſince and ſurrendred himſelf.

The next noted Captain of *Philip*'s *Indians* that was brought in after *Philip*'s death, was one called *Teſpiquin*, a notorious Villain, next to *Philip*, he was called the black *Sachems* ſon: It was this *Teſpiquin* that burnt ſo many houſes in *Plimouth* lately. Capt. *Church* with his Company were in purſuit of him in *September* laſt, two days before they could get near him; at the laſt on the third day they found the track made by the ſaid *Teſpiquin*'s party, as they went to fetch apples from the Engliſh Orchards: This was ſomething a blind track, therefore they were forced to take up their quarters that night without diſcovering any place of their Rendezvouz. The next morning about nine of the Clock, they came to their firſt Rendezvouz, from which they were newly gone: at one a Clock they came to the ſecond, and miſſing

them

them there, they ſoon after came to the third track, wherein after they had marched a while, they perceived they grew very near them, by the crying of a child which they heard: the place was near *Lakenham* upon *Pocaſſet* neck, ſo full of buſhes that a man could not ſee a rod before him: Captain *Church* ordered his men to march up together in one rank, becauſe he diſcovered the *Indians* were laid in one Range by ſeveral fires, ſo that by that time they all came up into an even rank pretty near together, within a few yards of them, as he had appointed, they all ſuddenly ruſhed altogether in upon them, and catched hold of them, not ſuffering any to eſcape; there being about fifty of them in all: *Teſſequin*'s Wife and Children were there, but himſelf was abſent, as alſo one *Jacob*, and a Girl that belonged to that Company. The Captain's leiſure would not ſerve him to wait till they came in (though the *Indians* ſaid they might come that night), wherefore he thought upon this project; to leave two old *Squawes* upon the place with victuals, and bid them tell *Teſpiquin*, that he ſhould be his Captain over his *Indians* if he were found ſo ſtout a man, as they reported him to be; for the *Indians* had ſaid that *Teſpiquin* could not be pierced by a bullet; for ſaid they, he was ſhot twice, but the bullets glanced by him and could not hurt him. Thus the Captain marched away with his booty, leaving this Trap behind him to take the reſt; the next morning he came to ſee what his Trap had catch'd, there he found *Jacob* aforeſaid (a notorious wretch) and the Girl he miſſed before, but not *Teſpiquin*: But within a day or two after, the ſaid *Teſpiquin*, upon the hopes of being made a Captain under Capt. *Church*, came after ſome of the Company, and ſubmitted himſelf in the Captain's abſence; and was ſent to *Plimouth*, but upon trial (which was the condition on which his being promiſed a Captains place under Capt. *Church* did depend) he was found penetrable by the Engliſh Guns, for he fell down at the firſt ſhot, and thereby received the juſt reward of his former wickedneſs.

About a Fortnight after the ſurpriſing of *Teſpiquin*, was one *Totoſons* Company taken, wherein were above fifty perſons: but *Totoſon* himſelf eſcaped, and is out ſtill in Rebellion, unleſs vengeance hath overtaken him ſince.

The next that was ſeized after the former, was one called *Annawan*; a very ſubtil politick fellow, and one of *Philip*'s chief Councellors; he had about twelve men, and as many Women and Children in his Company, who were diſcovered by their ſhooting at the Engliſh Horſes, and other Cattel; ſome of whom being taken, they made known the reſt. Capt. *Church* at that time had but five Engliſh-men, and twenty *Indians*.

The place where this *Annawan* had betaken himſelf, was a ledg of Rocks inacceſſible but at one place, which by a few hands might eaſily have been defended againſt a great number of Aſſailants: but Cap. *Church* by direction got up to their Wigwams before they were aware: and pleaſantly told *Annawan*, that he came to ſup with him that night; whereat the ſaid *Annawan* (who had fallen flat upon the Earth, expecting to have his head cut off) looked up and cried *Taubut*, in their Language, *thank you*, as one being much affected with the generoſity of our Engliſh Captain; they found ſome of the Engliſh Beef boiling in their Kettles: After Supper much diſcourſe had with the ſaid *Annawan*, they lay down to ſleep together in the Wigwam: Capt. *Church* laying one of his legs upon *Annawan*'s ſon, and the other upon himſelf, that he might have notice, if any of them offered to ſtir: after midnight *Annawan* roſe up, and Capt. *Church* was preſently awake, and intended to watch after his Priſoner: he thought at the firſt he might have gone forth upon ſome neceſſary occaſion; but not long after, he returned again, having fetched out of a Swamp hard by, two horns of Powder, and a large Belt of Peag, ſuppoſed to be *Philip*'s Belt, all which he delivered to Capt. *Church*, in way of thankful acknowledgment of his courteſie. Amongſt other Diſcourſe that paſſed between them, concerning the occaſion of the War, and carrying of it on, the *Indian* would fain have excuſed *Philip*, and laid the blame upon the Praying-*Indians* (as they are diſtinguiſhed from others by that Character) and others of the younger ſort of his Followers, who coming with their ſeveral tales (which he likened to ſticks laid on a heap) till by the multitude of them a great fire came to be kindled: they make much uſe of Parabolical expreſſions; for ſo ſaid *Solomon*, *Where no wood is, there the fire goeth out; ſo where there is no tale-bearer the ſtrife ceaſeth*, Prov. 26. 20. But *Philip* had large and long experience of the gentleneſs & kindneſs of the Engliſh, both to himſelf and to his People, ſo as unleſs he had born an evil and malicious mind againſt the Engliſh, he would never have hearkened to thoſe ſtories, contrary to his faithful promiſe and Allegiance.

The ſaid *Annawan* confeſſeth alſo, that he did believe by all thoſe late occurrents, that there was a great God that over-ruled all; and that he had found, that whatever he had done to any of thoſe, whether *Indians* or Engliſh, the ſame was brought upon himſelf in after-time. He confeſſed alſo, that he had put to death ſeveral of the Engliſh, that they had taken alive ten in one day; and could not deny but that ſome of them had been tortured: and now he could not but ſee the juſtice of the great God upon himſelf, with many other things of like nature.

But

But whatever his confeſſions of this nature were, being forced from him by the power of Conſcience, after he was delivered up to Authority, he was put to death, as he juſtly had deſerved.

It is ſaid that *Philip* when he firſt began his Rebellion, had about three hundred fighting men under him, beſides thoſe that belonged to his Kinſwoman *Wetamoe*, drowned about *Taunton*, that had almoſt as many under her as himſelf. And one *Quenopin*, a *Narhaganſet* Sachim, that lived near him, and joined with him in his quarrel with the Engliſh: But it is certain that there are ſcarce any that are now left that belonged to either of them: ſo as although the Almighty hath made uſe of them to be a ſcourge to his People, he hath now turned his hand againſt them, to their utter deſtruction and extirpation from off the face of the earth, peradventure to make room for others of his People to come in their room, and in their ſtead.

As for the reſt of the *Narhaganſets* that joined in *Philip*'s quarrel, it is already declared what end they were come unto. As for the reſt of the *Indians*, whether *Nepnet*, *Naſhaway*, *Pacomptuck*, or *Hadly* and *Springfield* Indians; it is not ſo certain what is become of them: But after their ſeparation one from the other about *July* laſt, it was obſerved by all the Tracks in thoſe Woods, they went ſtill Weſtward, and about the middle of *Auguſt* laſt, a great party of them were obſerved to paſs by *Weſtfield*, a ſmall Town to the weſt of *Springfield*, and were judged to be about two hundred: News thereof being brought to Major *Talcot*, he with the Soldiers of *Connecticut Colony* under his command, both Engliſh and *Indians*, purſued after them as far as *Auſotunnoog* River (in the middle way betwixt *Weſtfield*, and the *Dutch-River*, and *Fort-Albany*) where he overtook them, and fought with them; killing and taking Priſoners forty-five, whereof twenty-five were fighting men, without the loſs of any one of his Company beſides a *Mohegin Indian*: many of the reſt were ſorely wounded, as appeared by the dabbling of the Buſhes with blood, as was obſerved by them that followed them a little further.

It is written ſince from *Albany*, that there were ſundry loſt beſides the forty five forementioned, to the number of threeſcore in all; and alſo that an hundred and twenty of them are ſince dead of ſickneſs: ſo as Vengeance ſeems to be purſuing of them as well as the reſt.

Several of their Friends that belonged to *Naſhaway*, and the places adjoining, repaired to *Paſcataqua*, hoping to ſhrowd themſelves under the Wings of ſome honeſter *Indians* about *Quechecho*, under pretence of

of a Declaration ſet out by the Governour and Council of the *Maſſachuſets* in the beginning of *July* laſt: but ſome of our Forces under Capt. *Hathorne* and Capt. *Sill*, with the help of Major *Walden*, Captain *Froſt*, and others reſiding in thoſe parts, being then in a readineſs, ſeparated the vile and wicked from the reſt, and ſent them down to the Governour at *Boſton*, where eight or nine of the Ring-leaders, ſuch as One-eyed-*John*, Sagamore *Sam* of *Naſhaway*, chief Actors of the late outrages and bloody miſchiefs, had Juſtice done upon them ſoon after.

As for the Maſſacres and Calamities that befell the Engliſh further Eaſtward, they ſhall in the ſecond part of this Narrative be declared.

The *Indians* being thus diſperſed ſeveral ways, were ſtrangely confounded, and deſtroyed one parcel after another, until there was none left in the Weſtern or Southern parts, that durſt make any oppoſition all the following part of the year.

As for thoſe that fled Weſtward toward *Albany*, we ſhall there leave them for the preſent, wiſhing we may never hear more of them: only a perſon of Quality informeth, that at *Hartford*, in *September* laſt, he was preſent at the examination of one *Choos* an *Indian*, formerly of *Connecticut*, but one of the *Narbaganſet* Fort the laſt Winter, who confeſſed that he was one of that Company of *Indians* that went Weſtward the month before toward *Hudſons* River; but after the fight at *Auſotunnoog*, he ſaid he returned back to *Connecticut* for fear of the *Mohawks*; and that he lay hid about *Farmington* till he was almoſt ſtarved; and then he went to the Sea-ſide to make uſe of the Oiſter-bank at *Stratford* for his relief, where he was eſpied by the *Indians*, and ſo brought to *Hartford*.

He affirmed, that there were above two hundred and fifty fighting men amongſt thoſe *Indians* that fled Weſtward, beſides Women and Children; and that near 200 of them paſſed the great River below *Albany*, and were ſheltered by the *Indians* of that place called *Mohegaunders*; but about eighty of them tarried on the hither-ſide of that *River* near a *Dutch* Village. But he being convicted of fighting againſt the Engliſh, was condemned to die, and executed about the ſame time.

Some few of the reſt were skulking about the *Narbaganſet* Country the laſt Fall, hoping to ſhelter themſelves under *Uncas*, but he not willing to give them countenance againſt the mind of his friends at *Connecticut*, hath ſince abandoned them to ſhift for themſelves, who have bin moſt of them taken and brought in Priſoners to the Engliſh this winter.

About the Month of *October* laſt, Mr. *Stanton* chanced to come from *Seaconke* with three *Indians* in his Company, *Pequods*, or *Mohegins*, they hearing

hearing by a Captive at one of the next Towns that there was a parcel of the enemy not far off, preſently left Mr. *Stanton*, and purſued after them, whom they ſoon after overtook, and made them all priſoners: amongſt them was an old man, not able to go their pace, but promiſing to come after them, they ſpared his life: but as ſoon as the men returned at night from hunting, the old man told them what had befaln their Women and Children; whereupon the next morning they preſently following after them, overtook them, and ſo recovered the Priſoners, and ſlew one of the three that carried them away; the other two hardly eſcaped; one of them is called Major *Symon*, being part a *Pequod* and part a *Narhaganſet*, but of extraordinary ſtrength and courage; he perceiving the danger they were in, challenged to fight hand to hand with any five of them with their hatchets; but they unwilling to hang their ſucceſs upon the hazzard of a ſingle Combate, came all towards him at once, whereupon firſt diſcharging his Gun amongſt the whole Company, he brake through them all by force, and ſo eſcaped their hands, with one more that was one of his companions. This *Simon* hath ſince been very active in killing and taking many of the enemy; ſome ſay that he with his own hands hath taken and killed above threeſcore; and either out of hatred to the enemy, or love to the Engliſh, is this laſt week gone with the Soldiers to the Eaſtward, in purſuit of our quarrel againſt them in thoſe parts.

At another time not long before, when he was out againſt the enemy, he came ſuddenly upon a great number of them, as they were ſpread under a ſteep bank, from whence leaping down into the mideſt of them he killed divers, and took others: Fighting it ſeems is a recreation to him, for he is ſeldome at home above four or five days together.

Some ſay that in one of his former expeditions, being much wearied and ſpent, he laid him down to ſleep, but towards morning he fell into a dream, wherein he apprehended the *Indians* were upon him, where ſuddenly riſing up he eſpied the *Indians* coming toward him, but preſently preſenting his Gun againſt them, he ſo frighted them, that they gave him an opportunity to make an eſcape from a multitude of them.

Since the beginning of *December* laſt, News coming down to *Boſton*, that miſchief was done about *Seaconk*, and *Rehoboth*, by ſome remainder of the *Indians* thereabout, killing their Swine and Horſes; ſeveral of *Medfield* went out after them, and purſuing them by their track, came upon a ſmall party, of whom they took three, one of which eſcaped, while ſome of the Company were going after the reſt: They which were taken, confeſſed there were a parcel, about threeſcore, that were lurking

up

up and down in those Woods: the said two *Indians* were brought into *Boston*, *Jan.* 8.

A Commission was formerly granted to *Peter Ephraim* an *Indian* of *Natick*, to go out in pursuit of them, with twenty-nine of his Company: a few of the English went with them from *Medfield*, who being tired with marching in the Snow, soon returned. The *Indians* kept on in their design, and lighted upon a considerable party of the Enemy, having traced them, till they found where they lodged over night; they surrounded them early in the morning, as their manner is, and then offered them quarter, if they would yield: eight resolute fellows refused, who were presently shot down, the rest were all seized, the whole being in number forty two. This was done about the middle of *January* last, since which time several such exploits have been done by them.

Jan. 23. last, The same Company of *Natick* Indians took two and twenty of the Enemy, among which were five able men, and five Arms: they sent the Prisoners home by five of their Company, the rest went further in the chase.

Jan. 26. last, Another parcel of the Enemy were brought in, eight in number, of whom five were men; amongst whom was the *Indian* called *Cornelius*: who three years since was indicted for killing an Englishmans Cow; upon which he is said to have uttered several threatning speeches, that he would kill English-men, and their Cows too; which was now remembred against him, when he was in particular called to account, for having an hand in killing some of the English and *Indians* also in league with us, for which he was sentenced to die, and was accordingly executed on *Febr.* 15. last.

Concerning the rest of the *Indians*, either in the Colony of *Plimouth*, *Connecticut*, or the *Massachusets*, there is no occurrent more of moment come to light, since the end of *August* last, save what is last mentioned before; yet is it very remarkable, that although terms of peace were offered to all that would come in and surrender themselves (as appears by a Declaration put out in *July* last) and that a *Nipnet* Sachem called *John*, did thereupon with a considerable number of his Company come in, and offer themselves, and were accordingly secured of their lives, and other concernments; yet did that treacherous Varlet make an escape away this Winter from Capt. *Prentices* House (under whose charge he was put, about *Cambridge* Village) and with above twenty more fled away into the Woods, to shift for himself amongst the rest of his bloody Companions; they were presently pursued, but had gone

too

too fast and too far to be overtaken, whether it were conscientiousness of their own guilt, that having had an hand in the blood of the English, they feared vengeance hung over their heads: or whether they liked not the English manners so well, as to be confined thereunto; Wild creatures ordinarily love the libeety of the Woods, better than the restraint of a Cage: They made none aequainted with their design before they went away, and as yet little account can be given of them: only it is known, that one or two of their number have since been killed; and that one or two of their Families are entertained by *Uncas*, but what is become of the rest is yet uncertain: There were but seven of the Company, men; so as they are not capable to do much mischief. Some of late have travelled through the Woods to *Connecticut*, but met with no *Indians*, nor did they hear of any in their passing between that place and this.

And because in the present *Narrative*, there hath been frequent mention made of *Uncas* the *Mohegin Sachim*, and of his faithfulness to the interest of the English; I add in this place, that it is suspected by them that knew him best, that in his heart he is no better affected to the English, or their Religion, than the rest of his Country-men: and that it hath been his own advantage that hath led him to be thus true to them who have upheld him, as formerly against the *Pequods*, so of late against the *Narhaganſets*: yet hath he not long since been convinced of the truth of our Religion, and vanity of his own, as himself hath solemnly confessed, which will evidently appear by this following passage, which I shall here represent just as it was, from under the hand of that Reverend person it relates unto, *viz.* Mr. *Fitch*, Pastor of the Church at *Norwich*, near unto which *Uncas* his place is.

There was a great drought the last Summer: but as it seems, it was more extream in those parts than with us about the *Massachusets*: and although probably the English might have prayed for rain themselves without any motion from the *Indians*, yet their address to the said Mr. *Fitch* on such an account, with the consequences thereof, is very remarkable, which take in his own words:

Concerning the Drought, &c. the true Narrative of that Providence, is this:

In August *last, such was the want of rain, that the* Indian *corn was not only dryed and parched up, but the Apple-trees withered, the fruit and leaves fell off as in* Autumn, *and some Trees seemed to be dead with that Drought: the* Indians *came into the Town and did lament their want of rain, and that their* Pawawes, *could get none in their way of worship,*

desiring me that I would seek to God for rain; I appointed a Fast-day for that purpose. The day being come, it proved a clear day without any clouds, until nigh Sun-setting, when he came from the Meeting, and then some Clouds arose, the next day remaining cloudy; then Uncas *with many* Indians *came to my House,* Uncas *lamented there was such want of Rain; I asked, whether if God should send us Rain, he would not attribute it to their* Pawawes? *He answered, No, for they had done their uttermost, and all in vain: I replyed, If you will declare it before all these* Indians, *you shall see what God will do for us; For, although this year he hath shewn his anger against the* English, *and not only against the* Indians, *yet he hath begun to save us; and I have found by experience twice in the like case, when we sought him by Fasting and Prayer, he hath given us Rain, and never denied us. Then* Uncas *made a great speech to the* Indians *(which were many) confessing, that if God should then send Rain, it could not be ascribed to their Pawawing, but must be acknowledged to be an answer of our Prayers. This day the Clouds spread more and more: and the next day there was such a plenty of Rain, that our River rose more than two foot in height.*

By all that is recorded in the *Narrative* foregoing, there are none into whose hands it shall come, but will be sensible that the present time hath been a day of great rebuke and trouble to the poor people sojourning in this Wilderness, upon whom sundry calamities have broke in at once this last as well as in the former years: in many places they have been visited with sickness, and mortality, more than in many years before, depriving them of many worthy and useful persons; amongst others, the loss of Mr. *John Winthrope*, the late worthy Governour of the Colony of *Connecticut*, is, as it ought, much lamented by all, who died at *Boston*, *April* 5, 1676, in the 73*d* year of his age; whither he was occasionally called the last Winter to sit with the rest of the Commissioners of the united Colonies, to consult about the great affairs of them, now newly engaged in these troubles from the Heathen. He was the eldest son of the famous Governour of the *Massachusets*, deceased, *March* 26, 1649. *Proles similima Parenti.* The memory of the Father, though he died so long ago, yet lives still in the minds of the surviving Generation, and is like to continue much longer, by the remembrance of the eminent virtues found in this the eldest of his off-spring, who being not long after, or about that time called to take up his residence in that Colony, was by the importunity of the people there, prevailed with to accept of the Governours place, which for a long time after he held over that Colony, though

though annually choſen thereunto; being ſo well furniſhed with many excellent endowments, as well moral as political and philoſophical, which rendred him moſt fit to be an healer of that people. Though we are dealing in another ſubject, yet ſhall not paſs by his Tomb, as we go along, without paying the homage due to the memory of ſo honourable a Gentleman.

After all the forementioned Calamities and Troubles, it pleaſed God to alarm the Town of *Boſton*, and in them the whole Country, by a ſad Fire, accidentally kindled by the careleſneſs of an Apprentice that ſat up too late over night, as was conceived; which began an hour before day, continuing three or four, in which time it burned down to the ground forty ſix dwelling Houſes, beſides other Buildings, together with a Meeting-houſe of conſiderable bigneſs: ſome mercy was obſerved mixt with the judgment: for if a great rain had not continued all the time (the roofs and walls of their ordinary Buildings conſiſting of ſuch combuſtible matter) that whole end of the Town had at that time been conſumed.

Whereby we ſee that God by his providence can turn our dwellings into aſhes, without the help of either forreign or domeſtick Enemies. Which conſideration may awaken all from ſecurity and confidence in theſe uncertain and unſtable poſſeſſions, who have no firmer Foundation, that may ſo ſoon after their firſt erection, be eaten up by the flames of fire, before the iron teeth of time have had leiſure to devour and feed upon them.

God grant that by the Fire *of all theſe Judgments, we may be purged from our Droſs, and become a more refined people, as veſſels fitted for our Maſters uſe.*

A SUPPLEMENT Concerning the WARR With the PEQUODS.

Reader,

I *Could willingly now have expected that my Indenture being cancelled, I might have had a discharge from any further labour of this nature; but lest I be found to have falsified my word passed in the Title of the* Narrative, *according to the* Civilians *Rule*, Nihil dicitur factum quamdiu aliquid supereſt ad agendum; *As also that other*, Non absolutus est debitor qui multa reddit, sed qui omnia; *being some intimation hath already been made of great trouble with the* Pequod Indians, *at the first setling of the Plantations upon* Connecticut River, *that I may make even, though not over-measure: I shall in the last place give this following account thereof, either left under the hands of such as commanded in chief in that action, or from the mouths of some faithful Witnesses, that were not only then present, but personally concerned and engaged in that Service*

THere was a Nation of the *Indians* in the Southern parts of *New-England*, called *Pequods*, seated on a fair Navigable River, twelve miles to the Eastward of the mouth of the great and famous River of *Connecticut*; who (as was commonly reported about the time when *New-England* was first planted by the English) being a more fierce, cruel, and warlike People than the rest of the *Indians*, came down out of the more inland parts of the Continent, and by force seized upon one of the goodliest places near the Sea, and became a terrour to all their Neigh-

Neighbours, on whom they had exerciſed ſeveral acts of inhuman cruelty; inſomuch that being fleſhed with Victories over their Fellow-*Indians*, they began to thirſt after the blood of any Foreigners, Engliſh and Dutch that accidentally came amongſt them, in a way of Trade, or upon other Accounts.

In the year 1634, they treacherouſly and cruelly murthered Captain *Stone*, and Captain *Norton*, who came occaſionally with a Bark into the River to Trade with them. Not long after, within the compaſs of the next year, they in like treacherous manner ſlew one Mr. *Oldham* (formerly belonging to *New-Plimouth*, but at that time an Inhabitant of the *Maſſachuſets*) at *Block-Iſland*, a place not far from the mouth of their Harbour, as he was fairly Trading with them; beſides ſome other ſuch like acts of perfidious cruelty towards ſome of the Dutch that had formerly been trading up *Connecticut River*: by which practiſes perceiving that they began to ſtink in the noſtrils of their Neighbours, whoſe revenge they now began to fear, and not willing to have to deal with too many Enemies at once, they imitated the ſubtilty of the Children of *Ammon*, when they began to ſtink before *David*; endeavouring to ſtrengthen themſelves with alliance of ſome of thoſe they had formerly provoked, that by their aſſiſtance they might defend themſelves againſt the reſt, not doubting but to make their part good with their foreign Enemies, if they could be reconciled to their *Indian* Neighbours, the *Narhaganſets*; or other home-bred Enemies, if they could but fortifie themſelves by a League of Friendſhip with any of their foreign Neighbors that were newly come to plant in theſe parts. To this end they ſent Meſſengers with gifts to the *Maſſachuſets* in the latter end of the ſame year 1634, the firſt Meſſengers were diſmiſſed without an anſwer: but they being ſenſible of their own danger, and of the great importance a peace with the Engliſh of the *Maſſachuſets* might be, purſued the buſineſs very earneſtly, ſending Meſſengers a ſecond time, who offered much *Wampam* (*Indians* Money) and Beaver; with theſe ſecond Meſſengers the Governor and Council of the *Maſſachuſets* had much conference many days; and at laſt after the beſt advice they could take amongſt themſelves, concluded a Peace and Friendſhip with them, upon theſe Conditions:

1. That they ſhould deliver up to the Engliſh thoſe perſons amongſt them that were guilty of Captain *Stones* Death, and the reſt that were with him.

2. That if the Engliſh deſired to Plant in *Connecticut*, they ſhould give up their right to them.

3. That

3. That the Engliſh ſhould thenceforward Trade with them as their Friends, which was a chief thing aimed at, the ſaid *Pequods* being at that time in War with the Dutch, and the reſt of their Neighbours, on the Reaſon forementioned; to theſe conditions they readily agreed, and alſo cunningly inſinuated their deſire that their new Confederates, the *Maſſachuſets*, ſhould mediate a peace for them with the *Narhaganſets*; intimating likewiſe their willingneſs that a part of the Preſent which they promiſed to ſend, ſhould be given to them; ſtanding ſo much upon their honour, that they would not be ſeen to give any thing themſelves; ſuch was the pride and height of Spirit lodged in this company of Treacherous Villains, the Dregs and Lees of the Earth, and Droſs of Mankind.

As for Capt. *Stone*'s death, they ſlily evaded the guilt of it, falſly adding that there were but two left that had any hand therein, and that it was a juſt quarrel wherein he was ſlain: for, ſaid they, he ſurpriſed ſome of our men, and would by force have compelled them to ſhew him the way up the River; whereupon the ſaid *Stone* coming aſhore, with two more, was watched by nine of our men (ſay they) who finding them aſleep in the night, ſlew them to deliver our own men, one of whom going afterward to the Barque, it was ſuddenly blown up. Whereas the truth of the matter was thus:

The ſaid Capt. *Stone* formerly belonging to *Chriſtophers* in the *Weſt-Indies*, occaſionally coming to theſe parts, as he paſſed between this place and *Virginia*, put in at that River, where the *Indians* after they had been often on board his Veſſel to trade with him, at the laſt came friendly on board as they uſed to do, but finding the Captain aſleep in his Cabbin, took the opportunity to murther him as he lay, caſting a Covering over him that he might not be diſcerned by the reſt, whom they preſently after diſpatched one after another, all but Capt. *Norton*, vvho made ſtout reſiſtance, for a long time defending himſelf in the Cook-room of the Bark, till the gun-povvder vvhich he had ſet in an open Veſſel, to be more ready for his uſe, accidentally took fire, by vvhich fatal accident he vvas ſo burned, and his eyes ſo blinded, that he could not make any longer reſiſtance, but forthvvith fell into the hands of theſe cruel and blood-thirſty vvretches, vvho after they had taken avvay his life, made a prey of all that vvas in the Veſſel.

As for Mr. *Oldham* he vvas indeed murthered at an Iſland called by the *Indians Maniſſes* (ſince knovvn among the Engliſh by the name of *Block-Iſland*) but thoſe that murthered him (probably Inhabitants of the ſaid Iſland) fled preſently to the *Pequods*, by vvhom they vvere ſheltered, and

ſo

so became also guilty themselves of his blood, which ere long was revenged by them, as is in the next place to be declared.

The English of the *Massachusets* after the peace concluded with the *Pequods*, sent a Bark thither for trade, that trial might be made of the reality of their friendship; but they found them treacherous and false, and that no advantage was to be had by any commerce with them, insomuch as they took up a resolution never more to have to do with them; which the said *Indians* perceiving, made no account of the former peace, but took all advantage to do us mischief, not only by harbouring those who had murthered Mr. *Oldham*, but surprizing many of the English in the year 1636, when *Connecticut River* began first to be planted, divers of whom were killed (Nine at one time in *April* 1637.) by them about *Wethersfield*, when the Plantation then first began, so as they could not pass up and down the River without a Guard, but they would be in danger of being cut off, or carried away, as two Maids were said to be; Thirty men have been killed by them in all; those who fell into their hands alive, were cruelly tortured after a most barbarous manner, by insulting over their Prisoners in a blasphemous wise, when in their dying Agonies, under the extremity of their pains (their flesh being first slashed with knives, and then filled with burning Embers) they called upon God and Christ with gasping groans, resigning up their Souls into their hands; with which words these wretched Caitiffs used to mock the English afterward, when they came within their hearing and view.

About the same time some Agents sent over by the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brook*, built a Fort at the mouth of *Connecticut River*, wherein was placed one Lieutenant *Gardener*, and a convenient number of Soldiers to secure the place intended soon after to be planted, but all the winter following (*scil.*) in the end of the year 1636, they were little better than besieged by the said Salvages, not daring to stir out of command of the Fort, but they were ready to be seized by these their barbarous Enemies: At one time the Lieutenant himself with Ten or twelve of the Soldiers, marching out of the Fort, with an intent to pass over a Neck of Land, to burn the Marshes; as soon as ever they were passed over the streight of the Neck, they espyed a Company of *Indians* making towards the said Isthmus, which if they could not recover, they see they must all perish; whereupon returning back with all speed, they very narrowly escaped, and were Two or three of them killed notwithstanding, before they could get back into the Fort, which was presently surrounded with multitudes of them; but the discharging of a piece of Ordnance gave them warning to keep further from the

Walls;

Walls sometimes they came with their Canooes into the River in view of the Soldiers within the Fort, and when they apprehended themselves out of reach of their Guns, they would imitate the dying groans and invocations of the poor Captive English, which the English Soldiers were forced with silent patience to bear, not being then in a capacity to requite their insolent blasphemies. But they being by these horrible outrages justly provoked to indignation, unanimously agreed to joyn their Forces together to root them out of the earth with Gods Assistance.

The Colony of the *Massachusets* did immediately set about it in the latter end of the Summer (1636) by sending out Fourscore men under the Command of Capt. *Endicot* of *Salem*, who went to the *Pequod* Country by water, with Commission to treat with the said *Pequods*, first offering terms of peace, if they would surrender the Murtherers of the English, and forbear further acts of hostility, or else fight them.

The Captain aforesaid coming ashore with his Company, by a message sent them by an Interpreter, obtained some little speech with a great number of them at a distance; but after they understood what was propounded to them, first cunningly getting behind a hill, they presently ran away into the Woods and Swamps, where there was no pursuing of them: however one discharging a Gun among them as they were taking their flight, stayed the course of one, which was all that could be done against them for that time.

Winter approaching, and no encouragement presenting further to pursue them; at that time it was resolved better to return back for the present, and wait a further season when more Forces could be gathered together to pursue the quarrel to the utmost.

During this interim the *Pequods* perceiving that they had by several late injuries and outrages, drawn upon themselves the hatred of all the English as well as of their own people by former wrongs; and distrusting their own ability to deal with them all at once, did at the last by all subtil insinuations, and persuasions, try to make their peace with the *Narhaganſets*, using such Arguments as to right reason seemed not only pregnant to the purpose, but also (if revenge that bewitching and pleasing passion of mans mind hath not blinded their eyes) most cogent and invincible. But they were by the good providence of God withheld from embracing those counsels, which might otherwise have proved most pernicious to the design of the English; viz. That the English were Strangers, and began to overspread the Country, the which would soon be possessed by them, to the depriving the ancient inhabitants of their right

right, if they were not timely prevented; and that the *Narhaganſets* would but make way for their own ruin, by helping to deſtroy the *Pequods*; for after themſelves were ſubdued, it would not be long ere the *Narhaganſets* themſelves, would in the next place be rooted out likewiſe: Whereas if they would but join together againſt the Engliſh, they could demonſtrate how the Engliſh might eaſily either be deſtroyed, or forced to leave the Country, and that without any danger to themſelves: telling them alſo, that they never need come to any open Battels, they might deſtroy them only by firing their Houſes, and killing their Cattel, and lying in wait for them as they went out about their ordinary occaſions; which courſe if it were purſued, they ſaid, their new and unwelcom Neighbours could not long ſubſiſt, but would either be ſtarved with hunger and cold, or forced to forſake the Country.

Machiavel himſelf, if he had ſat in counſel with them could not have inſinuated ſtronger reaſons to have perſwaded them to a peace.

It is ſaid, that ſo much reaſon was apprehended in theſe motives, that the *Narhaganſets* were once wavering, and were almoſt perſwaded to have granted an ear to their advice and perſwaſion, and joyned all againſt the Engliſh; but when they conſidered what an advantage they had put into their hands by the ſtrength and favour of the Engliſh, to take a full revenge of all their former injuries upon their inveterate Enemies: the thought of that was ſo ſweet, that it turned the ſcale againſt all other conſiderations whatſoever.

The Report of the unheard-of cruelties forementioned, filling the ears of the Engliſh throughout the Country; it was agreed by the joynt conſent of the Engliſh throughout the three Colonies, to unite all their Forces together, for the ſuppreſſing the common Enemy, early in the Spring, *Anno* 1637, who were alſo moved thereunto by their own neceſſities, as well as by the earneſt requeſt of their Friends at *Connecticut*.

Thoſe of *Plimouth*, being written unto by the Governour of the *Maſſachuſets*, appeared very cordially willing thereunto: to which end they agreed to ſend fifty men at their own charge, with as much ſpeed as the matter required, with ſufficient Leaders appointed, and a Bark provided to carry them Proviſions, and tend upon them on all occaſions; but before they could be diſpatched away the next Spring, news was brought that the Enemy was wholly routed, ſo as their journey was ſtopped, and their good will accepted for the deed, as if they really had been there to have born their part in the Service; their non-appearance in time and place being not to be imputed to any backwardneſs in their

minds; but to their too late invitation to the Service; the motion fetching a large compaſs from *Connecticut* down to the *Maſſachuſets*, from whom in the laſt place they were ſolicited thereunto. And for the other two Colonies, thoſe of *Connecticut* being quickned on by the ſpur of neceſſity, and preſent ſenſe of the inſolency daily acted at their very doors, were ſooneſt upon their March, and by the good hand of God upon them, had given the main ſtroak before their Friends of the *Maſſachuſets* could come up with them; yet was there no repining for the want of the glory of the Victory; nor was there any cauſe, thoſe that were the chief actors therein being forward to give God the glory of the whole, and not willing to pocket up any thing thereof themſelves, acknowledging that they never ſaw more of God, or leſs of man, in any buſineſs of that nature, as may more fully be underſtood by particulars enſuing.

The Colony of the *Maſſachuſets* determined to ſend an hundred and ſixty, of whom an hundred and twenty were ordered under the conduct of Capt. *Patrick* of *Watertown*, and Capt. *Trask* of *Salem*, Capt. *Stoughton* of *Dorcheſter*, being to command in chief; with whom was ſent that holy man of God Mr. *John Wilſon* (Paſtor of one Church of *Boſton*) the Charets and Horſemen of our *Iſrael*, by whoſe Faith and Prayer, as ſometimes was ſaid of *Luther* (in reference to *Germany*) the Country was preſerved, ſo as it was confidently believed that no Enemy ſhould break in upon a place whilſt he ſurvived, which as ſome have obſerved, accordingly came to paſs.

The matter requiring great expedition, and it being long before the whole Company could be diſpatched away; Capt. *Patrick* with forty men were ſent away beforehand, to be ſure to meet with thoſe of *Connecticut*, in caſe they ſhould be in action, before the reſt of our Forces could get into a readineſs, which accordingly came to paſs; for the main buſineſs in taking the Fort was over, even before the ſaid *Patrick* could get thither. Capt. *Underhil* was ſent by Mr. *Vane* the Governour to *Saybrook*, the Winter before, to ſtrengthen the Gariſon there. The aſſaulting and ſurprizing of which, being the moſt remarkable piece of ſervice in that whole expedition, take it as it was delivered in writing by that valiant, faithful, and prudent Commander Capt. *Maſon*, chief in the action, who lived long after to reap the fruit of his labour, and enjoy the benefit of that days ſervice, having an Inheritance given him in that part of the Country, as a juſt reward of his faithful ſervice on that day, as well as at other times. *Wequaſh*, a *Pequod* by Nation, but diſguſted by the Sachim, proved a good guide, by whoſe direction they were led

led to a Fort near *Miſtick* River, ſome miles nearer than *Saſſacous* his Fort, which they firſt intended to aſſault.

On the ſecond *Wedneſday* of *May*, being the tenth day of that Month, we ſet ſail with Ninety men of the Engliſh in one Pink, one Pinnace, two Boats, towards the *Pequods*, with ſeventy River *Indians*, having ſomewhat a long paſſage to *Saybrook* Fort, about forty of our *Indians* deſired to go down by Land on *Saturday*, but on *Monday* they went forth from the Fort, and meeting ſeven *Pequods* and *Nianticks*, they ſlew five outright, took one Priſoner, and brought him into *Saybrook* Fort, where he was executed by Capt. *Underhill*, the other eſcaped.

On *Monday* we all landed at *Saybrook* Fort, and ſtayed there till *Tueſday*; Capt. *Underhill* joyning nineteen men with himſelf to us: whereupon we ſent back twenty of ours to ſtrengthen our Plantations: and ſo ſet ſail on *Thurſday* towards *Narhaganſet*, and arrived there on *Friday*.

On *Saturday*, my ſelf, with Capt. *Underhill*, Lieuetenant *Sealy*, with our guard, marched to *Canonicus* by Land, being about five miles diſtant, where we were kindly entertained after their manner: having had parley with him, we ſent to *Miantonimo*, who would give no preſent anſwer; and ſo our Sabbath being on the morrow, we adjourned our meeting until *Monday*, at which time there aſſembled *Miantonimo* with the chiefeſt of them, about two hundred men; and being ſolemnly ſet for Conſultation after their manner; we told them, we were now going, God aſſiſting, to revenge the wrong committed, and bloodſhed by their and our Enemies, upon our native Country-men, not any way deſiring their aid, unleſs they would voluntarily ſend, which they did exceedingly approve of: Moreover, we told them, That the Engliſh and they had always been friends for ought we knew, and ſo we were with the *Indians* that had not wronged Engliſh-men, the which they acknowledged, and ſo made a large deſcription of the *Pequods* Country, and told us, they would ſend men with us; ſo we reſolved there to keep our rendezvouz at *Canonicus* his Plantation on the morrow night, being *Tueſday*: but the wind being ſtiff, we could not land our men till five or ſix of the clock in the afternoon, at which time I landed on *Narhaganſet* ſhoar with thirty two men, and ſo marched to the place of Rendezvouz formerly appointed: Capt. *Underhill* and my Lieutenant landed the reſt, and ſo came up to me that night. About two hours before day came an *Indian* with a Letter from Capt. *Patrick*, being then at Mr. *Ro. Williams* his Plantation with forty men, who deſired us to ſtay for his coming, and joyning, not

intimating when that would be: the which being considered and debated, we thought could not be our safest course (though his present assistance was much desired) for these Reasons:

First, Because the day before when we had absolutely resolved to go, the *Indians* plainly told us, they thought we were but in jest, and also that English-men did talk much, but not fight; nay, they concluded that they would not go out: and besides if we should defer, we feared we should be discovered by reason of the frequent recourse between them by certain Squaws (who have mutual recourse): whereupon we were constrained to set forward toward the *Pequods*, with seventy seven English, and about sixty River-*Indians*, and as I suppose near about two hundred *Narhaganſets*, and marched that night to the Eastern *Nianticks*, where we kept our Rendezvouz that night; The Sachim of the place adding about an hundred of his men unto us.

We set forward and marched about ten miles, where making an Alta (or halt) there we held a consultation with the *Indians* that desired to know what we intended? we told them, that we resolved to assault *Saſſacous* his Fort, at which they were all stricken, & as it were amazed with fear, as they plainly confessed; and so after long debate and pressing of them, taxing them with cowardize, some of them resolved to go along with us, though I suppose they had no such intent, as appeared afterward; some of them left us, to the number as I suppose of an hundred or less; and marching on five miles further, we made another Alta, where they told us, we had near a dozen miles to *Saſſacous* his Fort, as we gathered by their relation: Being very weary in travelling with our arms, amunition and provision, we were constrained to alter our resolution, and resolved to attempt that Fort the which they had formerly described to be three or four miles nearer; and also one of Captain *Underhills* men failing, put it out of doubt. But whosoever saith, that Capt. *Underhill* had any falling out about that or any thing else, doth speak untruth; for we both resolved to *Saſſacous* his Fort, as we concluded in our consultation at *Narhaganſet*, and so continued our resolution till we received the former reasons as grounds sufficient to perswade us to the contrary, and to prosecute that which was most likely to be accomplished.

They drew a Plot of the scituation of the *Pequods*, and described *Saſſacous* his Fort to be the neareſt, which was the chief cause we determined to assault that first, and had no reason leading till our last Alta, where upon the reasons formerly mentioned, we changed our resolution: this they much desired, and very much rejoyced; for it was dreadful to them to hear the name of *Saſſacous*.

From

From thence we marched two or three miles where we kept our rendezvouz, ſuppoſing we had been within one mile of the Fort: They having ſent an *Indian* to diſcover before-hand, brought us news that they were ſecure, having been fiſhing with many Canooes at Sea, and divers of them walking here and there.

About two hours before day we marched toward the Fort, being weary and much ſpent; many of us having ſlept nothing at all.

And ſo we began to march toward the Fort, the Lord being pleaſed wonderfully to aſſiſt and encourage us; after a tedious march of Three or four miles, about break of day we came fair in view of the Fort ſtanding on the top of an hill not ſteep; the *Indians* all falling back, were ſuddenly vaniſhed out of ſight, ſo we made an Alta, and ſent back for our Guide, who had promiſed to go with us to the Fort; but his heart we ſaw much failed him; we asked him what they intended who promiſed to wing us, and to ſurround the Fort; he told us they were much afraid; but he ſeeing our reſolution, went to them and prevailed with divers of them to come up to us; we told them their beſt courſe would be to flank the Fort on both ſides, and having no time longer to confer, we proceeded; Capt. *Underhill* to the weſtern entrance with one diviſion, my ſelf with the other to the eaſtern as ſilently as poſſibly we could; ſo it pleaſed God we came up with the Palliſado within two rod, before we were diſcovered, at which time a dog began to bark, and an *Indian* cried out, but not being my ſelf rightly informed by the *Indian* of the right entrance, though there was a little poſtern door, the which I had thought to have attempted to break down with my foot; but the Lord directed me otherwiſe for the better; for I then feared we could not there enter with our Arms, which proved true; ſo I ſuddenly haſted to the Palliſado, and putting in the muzzle of my piece, diſcharged upon them, and ſo the reſt with all celerity; and ſuddenly haſtned on toward that ſide which ſtood toward the water; where I concluded was an entrance, and inſtantly fell upon it, being only barred with two great forked boughs, or branches of ſome tree; and haſting over them, I drew one after me, my Lieutenant, the other way outward; then we ſuddenly fell upon the Wigwams, the *Indians* cryed out in moſt hideous manner, ſome iſſuing out of the Wigwams, ſhooting at us deſperately, and ſo creeping under beds that they had. We had reſolved a while not to have burned it, but being we could not come at them, I then reſolved to ſet it on fire, after divers of them were ſlain, and ſome of our men ſore wounded: So entring one of their Wigwams, I took a fire-brand [*at which time an* Indian *drawing an Arrow had killed him, but one* Davis *his Serjeant cut the* Bow-

Bow-ſtring with his Courtlace] and ſuddenly kindled a fire in the Mats wherewith they were covered, and fell to a retreat, and ſurrounded the Fort; the fire encreaſing violently, inſomuch as that they were conſtrainned to climb to the top of the Palliſadoe; from whence they were ſoon fetcht down, I ſuppoſe to the number of an Hundred and forty; many of them iſſuing forth were ſuddenly ſlain either by the Engliſh or *Indians*, who were in a ring without us, all being diſpatched and ended in the ſpace of an hour, having Two of our men ſlain, and Sixteen wounded.

Being very hot and dry, we could very hardly procure any water, where we continued one hour not knowing what courſe to take, or which way to go, our Pinnaces not being come in, neither did we know how far, or which way to go to them; our Interpreter being an *Indian* and they ſo hurried and diſtracted with a few hurt men, but chiefly as I conceive with fear of the Enemy, who ſuddenly approached, that we could hardly come to ſpeak with him, who knew nothing what they intended.

But the Enemy approaching, they began to cleave unto us, and I verily think they durſt not leave us.

Our Pinnaces then coming in view with a fair gale, being guided as it were to ſerve our neceſſity by the good hand of God, which I think was never more eminently ſeen in a matter of like moment, and leſs of man in ſeveral paſſages. Then we ſet our men in order, and prepared for fight, and began to march toward the Harbour where the Pinnaces were to ride: the Enemy approaching, Capt. *Underhill* with divers *Indians* and certain Engliſh iſſued out to encounter them, but they would not ſtand to it, for the moſt part they lay behind Rocks, Trees and Buſhes; we marched on they ſtill dodging of us; ſometimes deſperately hazarding themſelves in open field, where ſome of them were ſlain in open view, and as we hear many wounded: I was ſomewhat cautelous in beſtowing many ſhot upon them needleſly, becauſe I expected a ſtrong oppoſition; and thus they continued to follow us till we came within two miles of our Pinnaces where they wholly left us, which was near Six miles as I conceive, having then about Two miles more to the River.

Four of our wounded men we were forced to carry our ſelves, while at length we hired the *Indians* to bear them, both in this and all their following enterpriſes againſt the *Pequods*.

Here note that one *Wequaſh* a *Pequod* fell from his Country-men, and proved a Guide to the Engliſh.

This ſervice being thus happily accompliſhed by theſe few hands that came

came from *Connecticut*, within a while after the Forces ſent from the *Maſſachuſets* under the conduct of Captain *Stoughton* as Commander in chief arrived there alſo, who found a great part of the work done to their hands, in the ſurprizal of the *Pequods* Fort as aforeſaid, which yet was but the breaking of the neſt, and unkenneling thoſe ſalvage Wolves; for the Body of them, with *Saſſacous* the chief Sachim (whoſe very name was a terrour to all the *Narhaganſets*) vvere diſperſed abroad and ſcattered all over their Country, yet ſo far diſmayed, that they never durſt make any aſſault upon the Engliſh, that in ſeveral parties vvere ſcattered about in purſuit of them.

It vvas not long after Capt. *Stoughtons* Soldiers came up, before nevvs vvas brought of a great number of the Enemy, that vvere diſcovered by the ſide of a River up the Country, being firſt trepanned by the *Narhaganſets*, under pretence of ſecuring them, but they were truly hemmed in by them, though at a diſtance, yet ſo as they could not, or durſt not ſtir from the place, by which means our Forces of the *Maſſachuſets* had an eaſie Conqueſt of ſome hundreds of them who vvere there couped up as in a Pound; not daring to fight, not able to fly avvay, and ſo vvere all taken vvithout any oppoſition: the men among them to the number of Thirty vvere turned preſently into *Charons* Ferry-boat, under the command of Skipper *Gallop*, vvho diſpatched them a little vvithout the Harbour; the Females and Children vvere diſpoſed of according to the vvill of the Conquerors, ſome being given to the *Narhaganſets* and other *Indians* that aſſiſted in the ſervice.

The reſt of the Enemy being firſt fired out of their ſtrong hold, vvere taken and deſtroyed, a great number of them being ſeized in the places vvhere they intended to have hid themſelves, the reſt fled out of their ovvn Country over *Connecticut* River, up tovvard the Dutch Plantation. Our Soldiers being reſolved by Gods aſſiſtance to make a final deſtruction of them, vvere minded to purſue them vvhich vvay ſoever they ſhould think to make their eſcape; to vvhich end in the next place, our Soldiers vvent by Water tovvards *New-Haven*, vvhither they heard (and vvhich in reaſon vvas moſt likely) they bent their courſe: ſoon after they vvere informed of a great number of them that had betaken themſelves to a neighbouring place not far of, vvhither they might hope it vvas not like they ſhould be purſued; but upon ſearch they found Fifty or ſixty Wigvvams, but vvithout any *Indians* in any of them, but heard that they had paſſed along tovvard the Dutch Plantation, vvhereupon our Soldiers that vvere before, all embarked for *Quillepiack*, afterwards called *New-Haven*, and being landed there, they had not far

to

to march unto the place where it was moſt probable they ſhould either find or hear of them; accordingly in their march they met here and there with ſundry of them, whom they ſlew or took Priſoners, amongſt whom were two Sachims, whom they preſently beheaded; to a third that was either a Sachim or near a kin to one, they gave his life upon condition that he ſhould go and enquire where *Saſſacous* was, and accordingly bring them word; this *Indian* overlooking all other national or natural obligations, in conſideration of his life that was received on that condition, proved very true and faithful to thoſe that ſent him; his order was to have returned in three days, but not being able within ſo ſhort a time to make a full diſcovery of the buſineſs, & alſo find an handſome way to eſcape, he made it Eight days before he returned, in which ſomething fell out not a little remarkable; for thoſe he was ſent to diſcover, ſuſpecting at the laſt by his withdrawing himſelf that he came for a Spye, purſued after him, ſo he was forced to fly for his life, and getting down to the Sea-ſide, he accidentally met with a Canooe a little before turned a drift, by which means he padled by ſome ſhift or other ſo far out of the harbour, that making a ſign he was diſcerned of ſome on board one of the Veſſels that attended on our Soldiers, by whom being taken up, he made known what he had diſcovered: But after he was gone, *Saſſacous* ſuſpecting (and not without juſt cauſe) what the matter was, made his eſcape from the reſt with Twenty or thirty of his men to the *Mohawkes*, by whom himſelf and they were all murthered afterward, being hired thereunto by the *Narhaganſets*, as was confidently affirmed and believed.

Thus this treacherous and cruel Villain with his Companions, having againſt his Faith and promiſe, as well as contrary to the Laws of nature and Nations, murthered ſeveral others, both of the Dutch and Engliſh Nation, is in the ſame manner himſelf againſt the Laws of Hoſpitality murthered by thoſe to whom he fled for refuge; *Vengeance is mine, ſaith the Lord, I will repay it.*

It is worthy our obſervation, that this *Saſſacous* the chief Sachim of the *Pequods*, as *Philip* of *Mount-Hope*, (both of them in their ſeveral times and places the contrivers of many bloody and cruel miſchiefs, yet) eſcaped the hands of thoſe whom they had ſo many ways provoked to the utmoſt degree of indignation, that ſo they might not too much gratifie their own ſpirits in taking revenge; but it muſt be brought about by thoſe means, in which the glory of Divine vengeance and Juſtice ſhall more eminently ſhine forth, that it might be truly ſaid of them as *Adonibezek* confeſſed of himſelf, *As I have done, ſo God hath requited me.* But to return.

The

The reſt of the *Pequods* from whom *Saſſacous* had made an eſcape, ſhifted every one for himſelf, leaving but three or four behind them, (when a party of our Soldiers according to the direction of him that was ſent as a Spy came upon the place) who would not or could not tell them whither their Company were fled; but our Soldiers ranging up and down as Providence guided them, at the laſt, *July* 13. 1637, they lighted upon a great number of them, they purſued in a ſmall *Indian* Town ſeated by the ſide of an hideous Swamp (near the place where *Fairfield* or *Stratford* now ſtand) into which they all ſlipt as well *Pequods* as Natives of the place; before our men could make any ſhot upon them, having placed a Centinel to give warning; Mr. *Ludlow* and Capt. *Maſon* with half a ſcore of their men hapned to diſcover this Crew. Capt. *Patrick* and Capt. *Trask* with about an 100 of the *Maſſachuſet* forces came in upon them preſently after the alarm was given; ſuch Commanders as firſt hapned to be there, gave ſpecial order that the Swamp ſhould be ſurrounded (being about a mile in compaſs) but Lieutenant *Davenport* belonging to Capt. *Trask* his Company, not hearing the word of Command, with a dozen more of his Company in an over-eager purſuit of the enemy, ruſhed immediately into the Swamp, where they were very rudely entertained by thoſe evening-wolves that were newly kennelled therein; for Lieut. *Davenport* was ſorely wounded in the Body, *John Wedgwood* of *Ipſwich* in the belly, and was laid hold on alſo by ſome of the *Indians*; *Thomas Sherman* of the ſaid *Ipſwich*, in the neck; ſome of their neighbours that ventured in with them were in danger of the Enemies arrows that flew very thick about them, others were in as much hazard of being ſwallowed by the miery bogs of the Swamp, wherein they ſtuck ſo faſt, that if Serjeant *Riggs* of *Roxbury* had not reſcued two or three of them, they had fallen into the hands of the enemy; but ſuch was the ſtrength and courage of thoſe that came to the reſcue, that ſome of the *Indians* being ſlain with their ſwords, their friends were quickly relieved, and drawn out of the mire and danger.

But the *Indians* of the place, who had for company ſake run with their Gueſts the *Pequods* into the Swamp, did not love their friendſhip ſo well as to be killed with them alſo for company ſake; wherefore they began to bethink themſelves that they had done no wrong to the Engliſh, and deſired a parly, which was granted; and preſently underſtood by the means of *Thomas Stanton* an exact Interpreter then at hand, upon which the Sachim of the place with ſeveral others, their Wives and Children, that liked better to live quietly in their Wigwams than be buried in the Swamp, came forth and had their lives granted them: after

ſome time of further parely with theſe, the Interpreter was ſent in to offer the like terms to the reſt, but they were poſſeſſed with ſuch a ſpirit of ſtupidity and ſullenneſs, that they reſolved rather to ſell their lives for what they could get there; and to that end began to let fly their arrows thick againſt him, as intending to make his blood ſome part of the price of their own; but through the goodneſs of God toward him, his life was not to be ſold on that account, he being preſently fetched off.

By this time night drawing on, our Commanders perceiving on which ſide of the Swamp the Enemies were lodged, gave order to cut through the Swamp with their ſwords, that they might the better hem them round in one corner, which was preſently done, and ſo they were begirt in all night, the Engliſh in the circumference plying them with ſhot all the time, by which means many of them were killed and buried in the mire, as they found the next day. The Swamp by the forementioned device being reduced to ſo narrow a compaſs, that our Soldiers ſtanding at twelve foot diſtance could ſurround it, the enemy was kept in all the night, but a little before day-break (by reaſon of the Fog that uſeth to ariſe about that time, obſerved to be the darkeſt time of the night) twenty or thirty of the luſtieſt of the enemy brake through the Beſiegers, and eſcaped away into the Woods, ſome by violence, and ſome by ſtealth dropping away, ſome of whom notwithſtanding were killed in the purſuit; the reſt were left to the mercy of the Conquerors, of which many were killed in the Swamp like ſullen dogs, that would rather in their ſelf-willedneſs and madneſs ſit ſtill to be ſhot through or cut in pieces, than receive their lives for the asking at the hand of thoſe into whoſe power they were now fallen: Some that are yet living and worthy of credit do affirm, that in the morning entring into the Swamp, they ſaw ſeveral heaps of them ſitting cloſe together, upon whom they diſcharged their pieces laden with ten or twelve piſtol-bullets at a time, puting the muzles of their pieces under the boughs within a few yards of them; ſo as beſides thoſe that were found dead (near twenty) it was judged that many more were killed and ſunk into the mire, and never were minded more by friend or foe: of thoſe who were not ſo deſperate or ſullen to ſell their lives for nothing, but yielded in time, the male Children were ſent to the *Bermudas*, of the females ſome were diſtributed to the Engliſh Towns, ſome were diſpoſed of among the other *Indians*, to whom they were deadly enemies as well as to our ſelves.

This overthrow given to the *Pequods* ſtruck ſuch a terror into all the *Indians* in thoſe parts (ſome of whom had been ill-affected to the Engliſh before) that they ſought our friendſhip, and tendred themſelves to be under

der our protection, which they then obtained, and have never ſince forfeited it any of them till this late rebellion of *Philip* the ſubject of the diſcourſe foregoing. Amongſt the reſt of the Priſoners, ſpecial notice was taken of the Wife of a noted *Indian* called *Mononotto*, who with her Children ſubmitted her ſelf, or by the chance of the War fell into the hands of the Engliſh: it was known to be by her mediation that two Engliſh Maids (that were taken away from *Wethersfield* upon *Connecticut* River) were ſaved from death, in requital of whoſe pity and humanity, the life of her ſelf and her Children was not only granted her, but ſhe was in ſpecial recommended to the care of that honourable Gentleman Mr. *John Winthrop*, for that time being the worthy Governour of the *Maſſachuſets*; who taking notice of her modeſt countenance and behaviour, as well as of her only requeſt (not to ſuffer wrong either as to the honour of her body, or fruit of her womb) gave ſpecial charge concerning her according to his noble and Chriſtian diſpoſition.

After this ſlaughter at the Swamp, the *Pequods* being upon every turn expoſed to revenge of the *Mohegins* on one ſide, and *Narbaganſets* on the other, choſe rather to ſubmit themſelves to the Engliſh, by whom they were put, ſome under the *Mohegins*, and ſome under the *Narbaganſets*, which at laſt proved the occaſion of the preſent quarrel, as is conceived, through the ambition of *Miantonimo*, as was at firſt related.

This was the iſſue of the *Pequod* War, which in the day of it here in *New-England* was then as formidable to the Country in general as the preſent War with *Philip*; the experience of which, becauſe it may adminiſter much matter of comfort and encouragement to the ſurviving Generation, as well as of praiſe and thankſgiving to Almighty God from all thoſe who have thus long quietly enjoyed the benefit, and reaped the fruit of their labour, and courage, who engaged therein: the more pains hath been taken to ſearch out the broken pieces of that Story, and thus put them together before the memory thereof was buried in the ruins of time, and paſt the recovery and knowledg of the preſent age, the which though it be here in the laſt place recorded, ſhould in the firſt be remembred.

A Table ſhewing the Towns and Places which are inhabited by the Engliſh in New-England: *thoſe that are marked with figures, as well as expreſſed by their names, are ſuch as were aſſaulted by the Indians, during the late awful Revolutions of Providence.*

Numb. 1. *Mount-hope.* A gallant neck of Land where *Philip* dwelt, who firſt began the Inſurrection againſt the Engliſh, *Jun.* 24, 1675.

2. The place where ſtands the Town of *Swanzy* conſiſting of forty dwelling-houſes, moſt of them very fair Buildings, juſt at the entrance on to *Mount-hope*, where vvere (*June* 24, 1675.) ſlain ſix men at *Bourn's* Gariſon, in *Metapoiſet* (another Neck marked *) not far from the former) and three vvounded as they came from the publick Meeting, tvvo kill'd that vvent for the Surgeon: and a Negro of Mr. *Mile's* vvounded, ſo as he died ſoon after. Alſo *Layton Archer* and his Son vvere ſlain, *June* 25, vvhich three belonged to *Road-Iſland*, but vvere killed at the *Fall-River*, though by miſinformation it is elſevvhere publiſhed that it vvas done *June* 24. Alſo 18 Houſes vvere burnt vvithin *Mount-hope*, that belonged to *Swanzy* Tovvn; the reſt of the Tovvn being all burned the next year, *June* 16, 1676, ſave ſix houſes that are yet ſtanding: beſides the barbarous murther of Mr. *Hezekiah Willet*, *June* 26, 1676.

3. *Middleborough*, formerly called *Namasket*, vvhere *Sauſaman* vvas ſlain: it is ſcituate betvveen *Plimouth* and *Taunton*, and is miſplaced in the *Map*. Here one *J. Marks* vvas vvalking in a field of *Indian*-corn, in *July* 1675, had his thigh-bone broke by a ſhot from an *Indian*, after vvhich he lay forty-eight hours before he vvas found, and yet vvas alive, but his vvound vvas ſo putrified, that he died thereof. When the Tovvn vvas firſt aſſaulted, the Miller running back to ſhut dovvn his Mill, vvas aſſaulted by ſeven *Indians* at one time, by eleven at another, had ſeveral bullets ſhot through his Coat, yet gat ſafe to the Gariſon; but the people vvere forced to retire to *Plimouth* vvith their goods ſoon after, when the whole Village was deſtroyed by the *Indians*.

4. *Dartmouth*, where in *June* 1676, a man and a woman were ſlain by the *Indians*; another woman was wounded and taken; but becauſe ſhe had kept an *Indians* child before, ſo much kindneſs was ſhevved her, as that ſhe vvas ſent back, after they had dreſſed her vvound; the *Indians* guarded her till ſhe came vvithin ſight of the Engliſh.

5. *Seaconke* or *Rehoboth*, vvhere vvere burned eight Farm-houſes in the end of *June*, and beginning of *July* 1675. On *March* 28, 1676, forty-

five dwelling-houſes were there burned, whereof thirty eight were inhabited, and the owners thereby turned out of doors, and left without houſe or harbour. Beſide twenty-one Barns, two Corn-mills, one Saw-mill burnt at the ſame time. *June* 16, 1676, eight Farm-houſes were there alſo conſumed by the fire of the enemy. The perſons ſlain here were ſeven, four with Capt. *Pierce*, *March* 26, 1676, another *March* 28, another *Apr.* 28, the laſt *May* 29.

6. *Pocaſſet*, where were ſome houſes burned *July* 1675, and ſeven or eight ſlain in the Swamp near the place: here alſo Capt. *Church* gave the enemy a notable defeat the ſame month.

7. *Taunton*, where were 15 perſons ſlain by the *Indians*, 11 men, two maids, and two youths: beſides a man ſlain in the fight with Capt. *Beers*; ſome in the year 1675, and ſome 1676, *pag.* 25, 26.

8. *Mendam*, where were the firſt Engliſh ſlain within the *Maſſachuſets* Colony, to the number of five or ſix, *July* 1675, within a few Months after the whole Village was deſtroyed, *pag.* 26, 27, 31.

9. *Brookefield* or *Squahaog* was deſtroyed by the *Indians Aug.* 2, 1675. whereof the chief Inhabitants, *viz. John Eires*, *John Pritchet*, and *Rich. Goy*, treacherouſly ſlain under pretence of a Treaty, *pag.* 32, 33.

10. *Deerfield* or *Pocumtuck*, a Village newly planted, where *Sept.* 12. 1675, divers were ſlain, and the Houſes burned by the enemy. Between this place and *Northampton* was a skirmiſh with the enemy 1675, 8 or 9 of the Engliſh were there ſlain, and 26 of the enemy. Near unto this place was Captain *Lothrop* ſet upon with 7 or 800 *Indians*, where by himſelf, and moſt of his Soldiers, to the number of 73, were cut off *Sept.* 18, 1675, *pag.* 36, 37, 38, 39. The fight at the *Falls*, a little beyond *Deerfield*, pag. 91. It is conſiderable that the Evening before Capt. *Turner* and Capt. *Holioke* gave the enemy a Camizado in the Wigwams, they had been feaſting and dancing, having before they laid down to ſleep, filled their bellies with new Milk, (as an Engliſh woman then in their hands, did declare, who was made to milk *Hatfield* Cows, which a day or two before they had driven away. So that when they were moſt ſecure, deſtruction came upon a great part of them, to the number of three hundred and fifty, as was judged by ſuch as were there, *vide pag.* 91.

11. *Squakheag*, another Village newly begun, which was alſo deſtroyed *Sept.* 1675, near unto this place Capt. *Beers* was ſlain, and 19 of his men, as they went to relieve the Gariſon there, *pag.* 37.

12. *Springfield*, which was treacherouſly aſſaulted *Octob.* 5, 1675, by three

three or four hundred *Indians*, when *I. Cooper* and two more were ſlain, and 35 Houſes burned with other Buildings belonging thereunto. Some others were there ſlain in the Winter following, *pag.* 41. Within a few miles of this place Capt. *Samuel Holioke* handſelled his office with the ſlaughter of four or five of the enemy. Three or four were here ſlain the Winter following.

13. *Hatfield*, a ſmall Town ſeated on the Weſt-ſide of *Connecticut* River, over againſt *Hadly*, which was furiouſly aſſaulted by 700 *Indians*, *Octob.* 19, 1675, yet was the place preſerved by the valour of the Engliſh with the loſs but of one man, Serj. *Norton* by name, *pag.* 42, although 7 or 8 of the Scouts were that day ſurpriſed and ſlain by the enemy, and one or two of the Town. It was aſſaulted alſo 1676, when five men were ſlain that came to their relief from *Hadly*, *pag.* 93.

14. *Northampton*, a fair Town three or four miles diſtant from *Hatfield*, which was ſeveral times aſſaulted by the enemy, yet was preſerved with the loſs but of a few of the people, and the burning of ſeven or eight of the Houſes thereof, *pag.* 44, 77.

15. *Hadly*, a conſiderable Town on the Eaſt-ſide of *Connecticut* River, violently aſſaulted by the enemy, yet no conſiderable hurt done, *June* 12, 1676, only ſome few were ſurprized and ſlain, *pag.* 94, that without order would venture without the Palliſadoes. In the *March* before, one *Goodman* Deacon of the Church, was ſlain at *Hoccanum*, belonging to *Hadly*, and two more that went againſt order and command to the top of mount *Holioke*.

16. *Weſtfield*, a ſmall Town ſeven miles weſt from *Springfield*, where ſome few Houſes were burned before or in the Winter, 1675, and three or four perſons ſlain, as they paſſed toward *Springfield*, pag. 44.

17. A Village called *Quonſigomog* in the middle way between *Marlborough* and *Quabaog*, conſiſting of about ſix or ſeven Houſes.

18. *Jer. Bulls*, Gariſon-houſe at *Pettiquamiſcot*, ſurprized, and ſundry perſons ſlain; a very great damage to the deſign then in hand againſt *Narhagauſet* Fort, *pag.* 50, 51.

19. *Canonicus Fort* taken by the Forces of the three Colonies, *Decemb.* 19 1675, though with the loſs of many of the Engliſh, 79 being ſlain right out, and about an 100 wounded; of the enemy were ſlain by the confeſſion of ſome priſoners about 300 of their beſt men; though *Ninicrafts* men who buried the dead there beſt, ſpeak not of a third part ſo many, *pag.* 51, 52.

20. *Warwick*, a Town near *Providence* ſeated upon a neck of land, environed by the ſea, was all of it burned by the enemy at ſeveral times, the

the chief miſcief there done was upon *March* 16, 1676, and the place wholly deſerted by the Inhabitants for a time, yet but one man killed, that was too confident of his ſafety, as is ſaid.

Providence is the Town next *Warwick*, where were 18 Houſes burned, *June* 28, 1675. *March* 29 following, fifty-four Houſes were there burned, and moſt of the reſt as they were deſerted by the Inhabitants withdrawing to *Road-Iſland*.

Petuxet is another ſmall place within four miles of *Providence*, where were twelve Houſes burned in the beginning of *March* 1676, *pag.* 66, 67. It was by a ſmall brook called *Abbots Run*, that falls into *Patuxet*, (a River near *Providence*) where Captain *Pierce* and his men were ſlain. *Ibid.*

Bridgewater, a ſmall Town between *Taunton* and *Weymouth*, pag. 68.

21. *Lancaſter*, or *Naſhaway*, a ſmall Town of about fifty Families, was aſſaulted *Febr.* 10, 1675, by 500 *Indians* in five ſeveral Companies; yet they took but one Gariſon-houſe; wherein were forty-two perſons, but eight or nine Soldiers, whereof but one eſcaped; the reſt were Women and Children, who were moſt of them returned after ſome months Captivity. And to prevent miſtakes, let it here be obſerved, that none of the Women were abuſed, or murthered, but one that was big with child, unable to travel, and much diſcontented, whom the *Indians*, having made a great fire, and gathered a Ring about her, firſt knocked her on the head, after they had pulled off her clothes, then barbarouſly caſt her into the fire. No credit is to be given to any other reports of Cruelty towards any Engliſh Woman in that part of the Country.

23. *Groton*, ſurprized *March* 2, as is related *pag.* 60, and 61; the place conſiſting of about 60 Families, was ſoon after deſerted, yet are there 14 or 15 houſes left ſtanding to this day, though not inhabited for the preſent, *pag.* 73.

25. *Wickford*, where was Mr. *Smith*'s houſe the Rendezvouz of our Soldiers, the laſt Winter, when they ſpoiled the *Narhaganſet Fort*.

28. *Medfield*, a midling Town, ten or twelve miles beyond *Dedham*, ſurprized by the *Indians*; ſeventeen perſons ſlain, and much of the Town burned, *pag.* 61, 62.

31. *Marlborough*, a Town ten miles beyond *Sudbury*, in the way to *Connecticut*, the people repairing in time to Gariſon-houſes, were not many of them ſlain; yet were many or moſt of their houſes burned that were deſerted, *March* 26, 1676.

32. *Sudbury*, a convenient Town, violently aſſaulted *Apr.* 18, 1676.

p. 79. by 8 or 900 *Indians* (the Inhabitants ſpeak of 1400) a tripartite company intending to have carried all before them, yet ſlew but three of the Inhabitants, beſides ten or eleven that came to their relief from *Concord*, that were ſadly loſt for want of good Conduct, *Febr.* 1. 1675. *Tho. Eames* his houſe at a Farm three miles diſtant from the Tovvn, his Corn, Cattel, Barns all burned, his Family captivated, the next day his Son's Wife died, *Eames* himſelf being from home.

33. *Concord*, a conſiderable Tovvn 5 or 6 miles to the North-vveſt of *Sudbury*; they ſuſtained not much damage in the Tovvn, ſave only ſome Farms that were at ſome diſtance there-from: tvvo men threſhing at a Barn, a young maid ſet to vvatch, vvas carried captive, and the men both ſlain; the maid ſtrangely eſcaped ſoon after, *pag.* 80.

34. *Chelmsford*, vvhere vvere many deſerted houſes burned in the beginning of *April* 1676, belonging to one *Ed. Colburn*, that had formerly purchaſed the ſeat of Capt. *Web.* And to *Samuel Varnham*, vvho had two Sons ſlain in the Boat as they were paſſing the River.

35. *Andover*, a ſmall Town fifteen miles weſt from *Ipſwich*; where alſo in *April* was one or two killed, and one taken captive.

36, 37, 38. *Hingham* and *Weymouth*, in each of which was one or two killed, *Apr.* 19, 1676, in the ſame month two or three were killed at *Andover*, *Haverhill*, *Bradford*.

39. *Woburn*, where ſome skulking *Indians*, that had robbed ſome of their Gardens at *Cambridge*, of Linnen, came into a houſe, killed a Woman and two Children; but being purſued and ſhot at, as they ſat by a Swamp ſide, they dropped their bundle of Linnen, in which was found vvrapt up the ſcalp of one or both the Children.

40. *Caſco*, a large Bay ſcatteringly inhabited and full of Iſlands, vvhere *Sept.* 1675, Mr. *Purchaſe* his houſe vvas plundered.

Sept. 9, followving *Wakely*'s Houſe and Family vvas ſpoiled.

12. *ditto.* Tvvo Houſes burned of Mr. *Mountjoy*'s, and tvvo young men ſlain as they vvere fovvling.

19. One ſlain at *Blew-point*, another vvounded, ſo as he died the next day.

20. A Man and his Wife ſlain.

Octob. 19. followving, 11 or 12 houſes burned at *Scarborough* a place not far from *Caſco*, vvith 500 buſhels of Corn in Barns.

Octob. 9. Lieut. *Augur* mortally vvounded, and his Brother ſlain; and tvvo more vvounded.

10. *ditto. Henry Williams* ſorely vvounded on *Saco* ſands or Dovvns, marvelouſly eſcaped from tvvo *Indians* paſſing to *Black-point*.

13. Capt.

13. Capt. *Wincol*, that came to relieve *Black point*, had two of his men ſlain, and two more vvith an Inhabitant vvounded; himſelf and his Party engaged the ſame day with an hundred *Indians* or more, yet was delivered by the ſhelter of an heap of Bolts: But nine men coming to their relief from *Sawco*, were all ſlain on the *Downs* the ſame day: *Thomas Rogers*, one of the nine, his Houſe burned the next day. *Part.*2. *page* 25, 26.

15. Lieutenant *Alcock* of *Kittery* buried them.

16. *ditto*, The Body of *Winter harbour* Houſes were fired by the Enemy; three men ſlain, and one woman carried away.

17. Six Houſes fired on the North ſide of *Sawco River*.

18. Six or ſeven Houſes fired by the Enemy at *Sawco* by night, which were the firſt that were fired in the night-time.

50. *Sawco*, where Major *Philips* his Habitation was, aſſaulted, *Sept.* 18, 1675. *page* 16, 17.

The 3*d* of *November*, twenty of the Inhabitants of *Scarborough*, or *Black-Point*, were ſet upon by ſixty *Indians*, by whom they had been deſtroyed, but the Enſign *Tipping*, the week before, ſent from *Boſton* for the relief of that place, came ſeaſonably to their relief.

6. *ditto*, A *Boſton* Soldier was mortally wounded: ſeveral Houſes that day burned; yet vvere they by the valour of the Engliſh beaten into Swamps, but what number of them vvas ſlain, is uncertain.

21. Two Houſes more burnt at *Sawco*.

51. *Wells*, Where two or three were killed, *Part* 2. *page*. 26.

55. *Falmouth*, on the hither ſide of *Caſca Bay*, vvhere *Auguſt* 11, about thirty four perſons were killed and taken by the *Indians*, p. 32, 33, 34

54. *Spurwinck*, and *Richmonds Iſland*, where Mr. *Friers Ketch*, with ten men, was taken, *Octob.* 11, 1676, *Part* 2. *page* 45, 46.

47. *York*: At *Cape Nidduck*, belonging thereunto, were ſeven barbarouſly murthered, *Sept.*25, 1676. *Part* 2. *page* 51.

58. *Totonnock Fort*, vvhich lies up *Kennibeck River*, whither the *Indians* are ſaid to have fled, when Major *Walden* arrived there with his Soldiers in *Febrvary* laſt, 1676, and from whence the Enemy came down when they ſeized the Inhabitants of *Kennibeck*, and *Arowſick Iſland*, *Aug.* 11, 1676, which is ſcituate in the mouth of the ſaid River.

It is reported by ſome of the Inhabitants of *Kennibeck*, lately fled, or rather driven from thence, that about five years ſince, four Engliſh men were ſlain by the *Amoroſcoggin Indians*, up *Pegypſcot* River, that runs into *Kennibeck*; but it was concealed by the vvicked Traders of thoſe parts, for fear of diſcovering their vvicked manner of Trading with the

Heathen; which if it had been duly enquired into, When it was first done, much of what followed might have been prevented;

——*Quid non mortalia pectora cogis*
Auri ſacra Fames?

But ſuch Gains have proved like *Aurum Tholouſanum* to ſome of the Inhabitants of thoſe parts.

Kennibeck, How taken and when, *Part* 2. *page* 41; there is ſaid to be about fifty three killed and taken about *Kennibeck*, and at *Arouſick*: *Iſland. Aug.* 13. 1676.

A Poſtſcript.

A Poſtſcript.

COncerning the *Narhaganſets*, this is further to be added here, That Mr. *Thomas Stanton*, and his ſon *Robert*, who having a long time lived amongſt them, and beſt acquainted with their language and manners of any in *New-England*, do affirm, that to their knowledg the *Narhaganſet* Sachims, before the late troubles, had two thouſand fighting men under them, and nine hundred arms; yet are they at this day ſo broken and ſcattered, that there is none of them left on that ſide of the Country, unleſs ſome few, not exceeding ſeventy in number, that have ſhelter-ed themſelves under the Inhabitants of *Road-Iſland*, as a Merchant of that place worthy of credit, lately affirmed to the Writer hereof. It is conſiderable by what degrees they have been conſumed and deſtroyed.

The firſt week in *April* laſt, *viz.* 1676, *Canonchet* their chief Sachim, having with this people been driven out of his own Country by the ſword of the Engliſh the winter before, breathed ſtill nothing but rage and cruelty againſt them, bearing himſelf upon his great numbers: yet as appeared in the iſſue, himſelf and they that eſcaped with him, were not ſo much preſerved from the preſent calamity that befell the reſt in their Fort, as reſerved to another and more ignominious death. For all the whole Body of the *Indians* to the Weſtward truſting under the ſhadow of the aſpiring Bramble; he took a kind of care of them upon himſelf: Wherefore foreſeeing ſo many hundreds could not well ſubſiſt without planting: he propounded it in his Council, That all the Weſt-plantations upon *Connecticut River*, taken from the Engliſh, ſhould this laſt Summer be planted with *Indian-corn*; vvhich was indeed in it ſelf a very prudent conſideration: To that end he reſolved to venture himſelf with but thirty men (the reſt declining it) to fetch a ſeed-corn from *Seaconk*, the next town to *Mount-hope*; leaving a Body of men, not fewer than fifteen hundred to follow him, or meet him about *Seaconk* the week after. This Adventure brought him into the ſnare, from vvhence he could not eſcape: For Capt. *George Deniſon* of *Stonington*, and Capt. *Avery* of *New-London*, having raiſed forty ſeven Engliſh, the moſt part Volunteers,

with eighty *Indians*, twenty of which were *Narhaganſets* belonging to *Ninegret*, commanded by one called *Catapazet*. The reſt *Pequods*, under *Caſaſinnamon*, and *Mohegins* under *Oneco*, Son to *Uncas*, being now abroad upon their third Expedition, which they began *March* the twenty ſeventh, 1676, and ended on the tenth of *April* following. They met with a ſtout *Indian* of the Enemies, whom they preſently ſlew, and two old *Squaws*, that confeſſed *Nanunttenoo*, alias *Canunchat* (thoſe chief Sachims uſually changing their names at every great Dance, and by that name of *Nanunttenoo* was he then known), was not far off; which welcom News put new Life into the wearied Soldiers, that had travelled hard many days, and met with no Booty till now; eſpecially, when it was confirmed by Intelligence the ſame inſtant, brought in by their Scouts, that they met with new Tracts which brought them in view of ſome Wigwams not far from *Patucket*, by ſome called *Blackſtones River*, in one of which the ſaid Sachim was at that moment divertizing himſelf, with the recital of Captain *Pierces* ſlaughter, ſurprized by his men a few days before; but the Alarm of the Engliſh at that time heard by himſelf, put by that Diſcourſe, apalled with the ſuddenneſs thereof, as if he had been informed by ſecret Item from Heaven, that now his own turn was come: ſo as having but ſeven men about him, he ſent up two of them to the top of the Hill to ſee what the matter was; but they afrighted with the near approach of the Engliſh, at that time with great ſpeed mounted over a fair Champagn on the other ſide of the Hill, ran by, as if they wanted time to tell what they ſaw; preſently he ſent a third, who did the like; then ſending two more on the ſame Errand, one of theſe laſt either indued with more Courage, or a better ſenſe of his Duty, informed him in great haſte that all the Engliſh Army was upon him: whereupon, having no time to conſult, and but little to attempt an eſcape, and no means to defend himſelf; he began to dodg with his Purſuers, running round the Hill on the contrary ſide; but as he was running ſo haſtily by, *Catapazat* with twenty of his followers, and a few of the Engliſh, light of foot, gueſſed by the ſwiftneſs of his motion, that he fled as if an Enemy, which made them immediately take the Chaſe after him, as for their lives; he that was the ſwifter purſuer, put him ſo hard to it, that he caſt off firſt his Blanket, then his Silver-lac'd Coat (given him at *Boſton* as a pledg of their friendſhip, upon the renewal of his League in *October* before), and *Belt* of *Peag*, which made *Catapazat* conclude it was the right Bird, which made them purſue as eagerly as the other fled; ſo as they forced him to take the water, through which as he over haſtily plunged, his foot ſlipping upon a ſtone, it made

him

him fall into the water so deep, as it wetted his Gun, upon which Accident, he confessed soon after, that his heart and his bowels turned within him, so as he became like a rotten-stick, void of strength; insomuch, as one *Monopoide* a *Pequod*, swiftest of foot, laid hold of him within thirty Rod of the River side, without his making any resistance; though he was a very proper man, of goodly stature, and great courage of mind, as well as strength of body; one of the first English that came up with him, was *Robert Stanton*, a young man that scarce had reached the twenty second year of his Age, yet adventuring to ask him a question or two, to whom this manly Sachim looking with a little neglect upon his youthful face, replyed in broken English; you much Child, no understand matters of War; let your Brother, or your chief come, him I will Answer, and was as good as his word; Acting herein, as if by a *Pythagorean Metempsychosis*, some old Roman Ghost had possessed the body of this Western Pagan: And like *Attilius Regulus*, he would not accept of his own Life, when it was tendred him, upon that (in his account) low condition of compliance with the English, refusing to send an old Counsellor of his to make any motion that way, saying, he knew the *Indians* would not yield; but more probably he was not willing they should, chusing rather to sacrifice his own, and his peoples lives to his private humour of Revenge, than timely to provide for his own, and their safety, by entertaining the Counsels of a Peace, so necessary for the general good of all; He continuing in the same his obstinate Resolution, was carryed soon after to *Stonington*, where he was shot to death by some of his ovvn quality, *sc.* the young Sachim of the *Mohegins*, and tvvo of the *Pequods* of like quality. This vvas the confusion of a damned vvretch, that had often opened his mouth to blaspheme the Name of the living God, and those that make profession thereof. He vvas told at large of his breach of Faith, and hovv he boasted he vvould not deliver up a *Wampanoog*, or the paring of a *Wampanoogs* nail; that he vvould burn the English alive in their houses; to vvhich he replyed, others vvere as forvvard for the War as himself; and that he desired to hear no more thereof. And vvhen he vvas told his Sentence vvas to dye, he said, he liked it vvell, that he should dye before his heart vvas soft, or had spoken any thing unvvorthy of himself. He told the English before they put him to death, that the killing him vvould not end the War; but it vvas a considerable step thereunto, nor did it live much longer after his death, at least not in those parts; For after *Sudbury* fight, vvhen the Sun of their hopes vvas at its highest, *April* the 18*th* following, it visibly declined, till it set in a night of obscure and utter darkness upon them all, as is to be feared.

The

The Inhabitants of *New-London*, *Norwich*, and *Stonington*, apprehensive of their danger by reason of the near bordering of the Enemy, & upon other prudent considerations, voluntarily listed themselves under some able Gentlemen, and Resolute Soldiers amongst themselves, Major *Palmes*, Captain *George Denison*, Captain *Avery*, with whom, or under whom, within the compass of the year, 1676, they made ten or more several Expeditions, in all which, at those several times they killed and took two hundred and thirty nine of the Enemy, by the help and assistance of the *Pequods*, *Mohegins*, and a few friendly *Narhaganſets*. Besides thirty taken in the long march homeward, after the Fort fight, *December* the 19th, 1675, and besides sixteen captived in the second Expedition, not reckoned within the compass of the said Number: together with Fifty Guns; and spoiling the Enemy of 700 Bushels of Corn.

In *January* they went again in pursuit, and took five men and a Boy.

Certain *Nipnets* intended to have sheltred themselves under *Uncas*; but he perceiving it would be distastful to the English, soon shab'd them off; so as they were in the beginning of the Winter brought into *Boston*, many of them by *Peter Ephraim*, and *Andrew Pityme*, with their Fellows.

In all which Exploits, neither they, nor any of their Followers sustained any loss by the Sword of the Enemy, or sickness: As is expresly declared by the Reverend Minister of *Stonington*, Mr. *James Noyce*, which is a matter very admirable to consider, engaging all that were any way concerned in such signal testimonies of Divine favour, to be ready to pay their Vows to the most High, who alone teacheth the hands of his people to War, and their fingers to fight.

But the greatest blow given to the *Narhaganſets* was by *Connecticut* Forces under Major *Talcot*, *July* the second, as is related, *Part* 1. *Page* 97.

Amongst the rest of the Prisoners then taken, was a young sprightly Fellow, seized by the *Mohegins*; who desired of the English Commanders that he might be delivered into their hands, that they might put him to death, *more majorum*; sacrifice him to their cruel genius of revenge, in which brutish and devillish passion they are most of all delighted: The English though not delighted in blood, yet at this time were not unwilling to gratifie their humour, lest by a denyal they might disoblige their *Indian* friends, of whom they lately made so much use: Partly also that they might have an occular demonstration of the salvage, barbarous cruelty of these Heathen: And indeed, of all the Enemies that have been the Subjects of the precedent discourse; This Villain did most deserve to become an object of justice and severity: For he boldly told them, that he had with his Gun dispatched Nineteen English, and that he had

charged

charged it for the twentieth; but not meeting with any of ours, and unwilling to loſe a fair ſhot, he had let fly at a *Mohegin*, and kill'd him; with which, having made up his number, he told them he was fully ſatisfied. But as is uſually ſaid, Juſtice *Vindictive* hath Iron hands, though Leaden feet: This cruel Monſter is fallen into their power, that will repay him ſeven-fold: In the firſt place therefore, making a great Circle, they placed him in the middle, that all their eyes might at the ſame time, be pleaſed with utmoſt Revenge upon him; They firſt cut one of his fingers round in the joynt, at the Trunck of his hand, with a ſharp knife, and then brake it off, as men uſe to do with a ſlaughtered Beaſt, before they uncaſe him; then they cut off another & another, till they had diſmembred one hand of all its digits, the blood ſometimes ſpirting out in ſtreams a yard from his hand, which barbarous and unheard of cruelty, the Engliſh were not able to bear, it forcing tears from their Eyes; yet did not the ſufferer ever relent, or ſhew any ſign of anguiſh: For being asked by ſome of his tormentors, how he liked the War? He might have replyed, as the Scotch Gentleman did after the loſs of a Battel, that being asked how he liked the match, *&c.* with our Prince of *Wales*, (which then was the occaſion of the quarrel) made Anſwer, he liked the match well enough, but no whit liked the manner of the wooing written by ſuch Lines of blood; but this unſenſible and hard-hearted Monſter Anſwered, He liked it very well, and found it as ſweet, as Engliſh men did their Sugar. In this frame he continued, till his Executioners had dealt with the Toes of his feet, as they had done with the Fingers of his hands; all the while making him dance round the Circle, and ſing, till he had wearied both himſelf and them: At laſt they brake the bones of his Legs, after which he was forced to ſit down, which 'tis ſaid he ſilently did, till they had knockt out his brains. Inſtances of this nature ſhould be Incentive unto us, to bleſs the Father of Lights, who hath called us out from the dark places of the earth, full of the habitations of cruelty. When the Day-ſpring from on high ſhall viſit thoſe that ſit in this Region of darkneſs, another Spirit will be poured upon them, and then the feet of them that bring the glad tidings of Goſpel-Salvation will appear more beautiful to them than at preſent they ſeem to do. And when theſe Mountains of Prey ſhall become the holy Mountain of the Lord, they ſhall neither hurt, nor deſtroy, nor exerciſe cruelty therein.

Moreover in the beginning of *April* 1677, certain Intelligence came from *Paſcataqua*, That ſome ſtrange *Indians* had fallen upon Major *Walderns Indians*, and deſtroyed ſeveral of them.

It is alſo informed, that the *Indians* of *Kennibeck* have lately ſurprized

Five

Five or six of the Soldiers by an Ambush, as they were about to have buried some of the bodies of their Friends, slain in those parts before the last Winter: And that they had the last week done the like mischief to such a number of the Inhabitants of *Black-point*, which is a solemn Presage of another Storm like to fall upon those Eastern parts, unless God prevent, this Summer ensuing.

For the further satisfaction of the Reader concerning the perfidiousness and falsness of our Enemies, and the Justice of our Cause, we shall close this Narrative with the Articles which *Philip*, Sachim of *Paukamaket*, or *Mount hope*, subscribed in the year, 1671.

WE PHILIP and my Council and my Subjects, do acknowledg our selves Subject to His MAJESTY the King of England, *and the Government of* New-Plimouth, *and to their Laws.*

2. *I am willing, and do promise to pay unto the Government of* Plimouth, *One hundred pounds in such things as I have: but I would intreat the favour that I might have Three years to pay it in, forasmuch as I cannot do it at present.*

3. *I do promise to send unto the Governor, or whom he shall appoint, Five Wolves heads, if I can get them: or as many as I can procure, until they come to Five Wolves yearly.*

4. *If any difference fall between the English and my self, and People, then I do promise to repair to the Governor of* Plimouth, *to rectifie the difference amongst us.*

5. *I do promise not to make War with any, but with the Governors approbation of* Plimouth.

6. *I promise, not to dispose of any of the Lands that I have at present, but by the approbation of the Governor of* Plimouth.

For the true performance of the premises of the said Sachim, *Philip* of *Paukamakett*, do hereby bind my self, and such of my Council as are present, our selves, our Heirs, our Successors, faithfully, and to promise, in witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our hands, the Day and Year above Written;

In the presence of the Court and divers of the Magistrates and other Gentlemen of the Massachusets and Connecticut.

The mark P *of Philip, the Sachim of Paukamakett.*
The mark [*of Uncompaen.*
The mark [*of Wolokom.*
The mark 7 *of Samkama.*

FINIS.

A NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS IN *NEW-ENGLAND*,

From *Paſcataqua* to *Pemmaquid*.

THE Occaſion, Riſe and Progreſs of the War with the *Indians* in the Southern and Weſtern parts of *New-England*, together with the Iſſue and Succeſs thereof, hath in the former part of this *Narrative* been already declared. Before an Entrance be made into a Relation of thoſe Troubles that befell the Eaſtern and Northern parts of the ſaid Country from the *Indians* inhabiting thoſe parts; It will be requiſite to give ſome general Deſcription of the place, as being leſs frequented, and ſo more unknown than the other; like Heraulds that uſe to Blazon the Field before they meddle with the charge, as an Hiſtorian once ſaid; that ſo the Reader may not miſs the truth in Story, by being unacquainted with the places whereon the Diſcourſe proceedeth. Briefly therefore, that more coſt and pains be not ſpent in the ſurveying a barren and Rocky Country, than will quit coſt; The Liſt or Border here being known to be more worth than the whole Cloth; That whole Tract of Land, being of little worth, unleſs it were for the Borders thereof upon the Sea-coaſt, and ſome ſpots and Skirts of more deſirable Land upon the Banks of ſome Rivers, how much ſoever it be valued by them that know nothing

thereof, but by the uncertain and fallible Reports of ſuch as have only ſailed by the Country, or viewed ſome of the Rivers and Havens, but never paſſed through the heart of the Continent. The whole being ſcarce worth half thoſe mens lives that have been loſt theſe two laſt years, in hope to ſave it.

This North part of *New-England*, did firſt like *Zarah*, put forth its hand, thereby inviting the Adventurers to twiſt the *Scarlet Thred* of their hopes about the ſame; by that Auſpitious beginning, they vvere ready to promiſe themſelves great proſperity, in having that Advantage before others, to plant and people that part of the Country.

But that fair opportunity was almoſt quite loſt, by ſome Fatal and miſchievous Accidents happening ſoon after that Noble Enterprize vvas firſt ſet a-foot, as hath been already in part, and may hereafter more fully be declared.

The firſt place that ever was poſſeſſed by the Engliſh, in hope of making a Plantation in thoſe parts, vvas a Tract of Land on the Weſt-ſide of the River of *Kennibeck*, then called *Sagatawocke*, ſince *Saga-dehocke*: other places adjoyning were ſoon after ſeized, and improved for Trading and Fiſhing. The more remote and furtheſt Northward, at this time belonging to the Engliſh (*Penobſot*, forty years ſince being ſurprized by the *French*, and by them held at this day) is called *Pemmaquid*) diſtant ſeven or eight Leagues from *Kennibeck*, and is the utmoſt boundary of *New England*; being about forty Leagues diſtant from the mouth of *Paſcataqua River*. That *Pemmaquid* is a very commodious Haven for Ships, and hath been found very advantageous to ſuch as uſe to come upon theſe Coaſts to make Fiſhing-voyages; South-weſt, or South-eaſt from whence, about ſix or ſeven leagues lies an Iſland called *Monbiggon*, of much uſe on the ſame account for fiſhing, it lying three or four Leagues into the Sea from *Damarils Cove* (a place of like Advantage for the Stages of Fiſhermen in former times). There have been for a long time ſeven or eight conſiderable dwellings about *Pemmaquid*, which is well accommodated with Paſture-land about the Haven for feeding Cattel, and ſome Fields alſo for Tillage; All the Land improvable for ſuch uſes, being already taken up by ſuch a number of Inhabitants as is already mentioned.

In the mouth of the River of *Kennibeck* lies a conſiderable Iſland called *Arowſick*, ſome years ſince purchaſed by Major *Clark*, and Capt. *Lake*, two Merchants of *Boſton*: on which they built ſeveral large dwellings with a Warehouſe, and many other Edifices near the water-ſide, it being intended by the Owners for a place of Trading, as well as

 plant-

planting; there being many of late seated there, fit to carry on each design; where also was built a Fort, which if it had been carefully defended, might have proved the defence and security of all that side of the Country, as it used to be their Magazine up higher beyond the River of *Kennibeck*. Four Leagues Eastward toward *Pemmaquid*, is another considerable River called *Ships Coat*, upon the Banks of which were many scattered Planters: who lately flying from their dwellings for fear of the *Indians*, left, as was judged, a thousand head of Neat Cattel for the use of the *Indians* that made the late Insurrection against the Inhabitants of those parts, besides the Fields and Barns full of Corn.

There is another River that issues into *Kennibeck*, a little higher up into the Country, called *Pegypscot*, that comes down from behind *Casco Bay*. This *Pegypscot* is the seat of the *Amoscogging Indians*, who have had a great, if not the principal hand in the late mischiefs.

Some few Leagues to the South of *Kennibeck*, lies that famous and spacious Haven called *Casco Bay*: The North-east Cape of which is made by an Island called *Saguin*; The Southern or opposite point of Land is called *Cape Elizabeth*, which is in the Bosom of this *Bay*, being about eight or nine Leagues over at the mouth of it, and abundance of small Islands, many of them being inhabited by Fishermen, and others: one of the principal of that sort, is called *Jewels Island*. There are many places about this *Bay*, fit to make commodious Habitations; and on the South-side of it, is a small Village called *Falmouth*; All, or most of it, lately destroyed by the *Indians*.

Not far from *Casco* to the Southward, or South-west, still is a River called *Spurwinks*, over against which lies *Richmond Island*, not far from the main Land, being divided therefrom by a small Channel fordable at Low-water; It hath for a long time been the seat of Mr. *Jordan*, in right of Mr. *Winter*, the former, if not the first Proprietor thereof, whose Daughter he married.

The next Plantation Southward is called *Scarborough*, a small Village seated upon *Black-point*; over against which is another Point, for distinction from the former called *Blue-point*: This *Black-point*, was lately the Seat of Mr. *Josselin*, being a parcel of the Province of *Maine*, or falling within the Precincts thereof, and was formerly by Patent granted to the said *Josselin* or his Predecessors, since purchased by Mr. *Scotto* of *Boston*.

Saco River lies next in order to *Pascataqua*, a Navigable River; where Major *Philips* had a commodious Scituation lately; at the mouth of which River lies Winter-Harbour, encompassed on one side by a

Neck of Land, formerly the Propriety of one Mr. *Winter*, whose Name it ſtill retains, but lately purchaſed by Major *Penaleton*, where he enjoyed a very comfortable Seat and Habitation.

There is another Harbour lying a little Southward of *Saco*, made by that which is called *Cape Corpuiſſe*, a convenient Seat for Fiſhermen, as are moſt of the other places above-named. Between *Cape Porpuiſſe* and *Paſcataqua*, there are but two ſmall Towns more (though ambitious of great Names) the one called *Wells*, the other *York*: *Wells* is ſeated upon a ſmall River or Creek, affording a ſmall Harbour fit only for Barks and ſmaller Veſſels: on each ſide of which Town lies a ſmall River, the firſt called *Kennibunk*, the ſecond *Maguncuck*: the other Town is called *York*, formerly known by the Name of *Agamenticus*, from an high Hill of that Name, not far off therefrom. The point of Land which lies between the ſaid Towns, is called *Cape Nidduck*, making a ſmall Harbour likewiſe, into which iſſues another pretty River, on the Banks of which is ſcituate the Town of *York*. All or moſt of forementioned Towns and Plantations are ſeated upon, and near ſome River greater or leſſer, whoſe ſtreams are principally improved for the driving of Saw-Mills: Thoſe late Inventions, ſo uſeful for the deſtruction of Wood and Timber, ſpecially of Firr-trees, which no doubt ſo abound in thoſe Coaſts, that there is ſcarce a River or Creek in thoſe parts that hath not ſome of thoſe Engines erected upon them.

The upper Branches of the famous River of *Paſcataqua*, being alſo employed all of them that way: namely, *Sturgeon-Creek*, *Salmon Falls*, *Newechewannik*, *Quechecho*, *Oyſter-River*, *Swamſcot*, *Greenland*, *Lamprey Eele-River*, together with the Towns of *Exeter* and *Dover*, ſeated upon, or near ſome of the main Branches thereof, whoſe principal Trade is in Deal-Boards, cut by thoſe Saw-Mills, ſince their Riſt Timber is near all conſumed. On each ſide of that brave Navigable River of *Paſcataqua* down towards the mouth of it, are ſeated on the North ſide the Town of *Kittery* (a long ſcattering Plantation made up of ſeveral Hamlets): on the South ſide the Town of *Portſmouth*, to which belongs the great Iſland, lying in the mouth of the ſaid River, a place of conſiderable Trade theſe late years, the which together with *Straberry-Bank*, the upper part of the ſaid Town of *Portſmouth*, are the Magazine, and chief or only place of Commerce and Trade for all the Plantations, betwixt it and *Caſco Bay*. All the ſaid Plantations have in theſe laſt two years, *viz.* 1675, 1676, ſtill more or leſs of the Rage and Cruelty of the barbarous and perfidious *Indians* belonging to that ſide of the Country, as ſhall more particularly be declared in what fol-

follows, after a short discourse of the first planting that side of the Country which may serve as a kind of Prologue to the following Tragedy.

This part of *New England* began first to be planted about the same time with *Virginia*, *viz.* in the year 1606. There the first Letters Patents granted by the King for the Limitation of *Virginia*, did extend from 34 to 44 Degrees of North-Latitude, and was divided into two parts, namely the first and the second Colony; The former was appropriated to the City of *London*, the other to the Cities of *Bristol*, *Exeter*, and Town of *Plimouth*, each of which had Laws, Priviledges, and Authority for the Government and advancing their several Plantations alike, as saith Capt. *Smith* in his general History of *Virginia* and *New-England*. This second Colony of *New-England* promising but little advantage to the undertakers, by reason of its Mountainous and Rocky Scituation, found but few Adventurers forward to promote the planting thereof, after the death of Sir *John Popham*, who was the first that ever procured men or means to possess it; for when the main Pillars are removed, what can be expected but that the whole building should fall to the ground? Yet, notwithstanding the discouragements the first Planters met with al in their first Winter seasoning, in that cold and Rocky desert (which made them all return home in the year 1608) did Sir *Francis Popham* his Son, having the Ships and Provision which remained of the Company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, send divers times to the Coasts for Trade and Fishing, of whose loss or gain, as saith my Author, himself was best able to give account. And some of the Ships sent by him, and the Earl of *Southampton*, with other Noble Adventurers, did bring home a son of the Natives of the place in one of the next following years, by whose Informations, some of the first undertakers were encouraged once more to try the verity of their hopes, and see if possibly they might find something that could induce a fresh resolution to prosecute so pious and honourable a work.

But in the mean time before there was yet any speech or endeavour to settle any other Plantation in those parts, That about *Sagadehock* being thus abandoned for the present by the first Undertakers, the *Frenchmen* immediately took the opportunity to settle themselves within our limits, which being understood by those of *Virginia*, they discreetly taking into their consideration the inconveniences that might arise by suffering them to harbor there, Sir *Samuel Argall* was sent with Commission to displace them, which he with great discretion, dexterity,

terity and judgment performed about the year 1613. The which made way for the Plantation at *Nova Scotia*, granted afterwards by King *James* to Sir *William Alexander*, one of his Majesties most Honourable Council of *Scotland*. The said *Argal* seized the Forts which the *Frenchmen* had built at Mount *Mansel*, St. *Croix*, and *Port Real*, and carried away their Ordnance, with other Provisions, to the Colony of *Virginia*, to their great Benefit. The said places were held by the English divers years after, till about the year 1635, by Commission from the Scotch Lord aforesaid; but how his right came afterwards to be alienated to any of the *French* Nation, doth not concern us with Reference to the business in hand, further to enquire.

Things remaining in this posture for the space of near Seven years, some of the first Adventurers apprehensive of better hopes of good that might ensue by a fresh attempt, resolved to set the design a foot a second time; to which end, several Ships were sent on that account in the year 1615, but with as bad success as the former; for in the year before, *viz.* 1614, Capt. *Smith* desirous to promote the Colony of *New-England*, as well as that of *Virginia*, came thither with Two Vessels, and returned back to *England* in the lesser of them, with intent to be there again that next year, to promote the said Plantation; But after he was gone, one *Thomas Hunt* Master of the Ship, he left behind, like a wicked Varlet, to prevent the carrying on the Plantation, that he and a few Merchants might wholly enjoy the benefit of the Trade of the Country, after he had made his Voyage, seized upon Four and twenty of the poor Innocent Natives, that in confidence of his honesty, had put themselves into his hands, then clapping them under Hatches, carried them away to *Malego*, whither he was bound with the Fish he had made upon the Coast, for that Market: But this vile act, although it kept him for ever after from any more imployment in those parts, yet that was the least part of the mischief that attended his wicked practice; for upon the Arrival of the Adventurers Ships the next year; Two Natives of the place that had been some years in *England*, and coming back unto the said Ships, as soon as they understood the injury so treacherously done to their Countrymen, they contracted such an hatred against our whole Nation, that although one of the said Natives dyed soon after, yet the other called *Epenow*, studied how to be Revenged, which he so far found means to effect, that he frustrated this second Attempt of setling a Plantation in those parts.

Yet did not the Adventurers cast off all hope of carrying on their design, wherein Providence within a few years after so favoured them,

that

that one or more of the Salvages called *Tiſquantum* and *Samoſet*, carried away by *Hunt*, was brought back to *New-found Land*, from whence he was ſoon after conveyed by the prudent endeavour of Capt. *Maſon* (then Governor of the Plantation begun upon *New-found Land*) into the hands of ſome of the Adventurers, by whoſe means they hoped to work a peace betwixt the ſaid Natives on that Coaſt where the fire had been kindled before; for the Adventurers imployed Capt. *Thomas Darmer*, a prudent and induſtrious Gentleman, to ſettle the affairs of the Plantation, now a third time revived again about *Kennibeck*, in the year 1619, or thereabouts. By his prudence and care a laſting peace was made betwixt the Natives of the place, and the Engliſh, who were but a little before ſo abhorred by them, for the wrong formerly received: ſo as the Plantation began at laſt to proſper, and continue in good liking, and aſſurance of the Friendſhip of their Neighbours, that had been lately ſo exaſperated againſt them. This *Tiſquantum* forementioned, was not a little inſtrumental and helpful to the plantation begun at *New-Plimouth* about the following year, *viz.* 1620. In their weak beginnings, there being frequent mention of his Name, as alſo of one *Samoſet*, a Native of the ſame place, by the like Providence brought back to *Kennibeck*, and from thence with *Tiſquantum* came to the New-planters at *Patuxet*, or *Plimouth*, and brought them into acquaintance with *Maſſaſoit*, the great Sachim about thoſe parts; without whoſe Friendſhip that New Plantation would hardly have ſubſiſted long.

This Story premiſed is the more to be minded in this place, becauſe the Friendſhip upon the means and occaſions aforeſaid, confirmed betwixt the *Indians* in theſe Eaſtern parts, and the Engliſh, had continued ſtedfaſt and conſtant to this year, when it was broken by another treacherous and wicked practice of a like nature, and parallel to that of the foreſaid *Hunt*: As may more fully be declared afterwards.

Poſſibly the like ſatisfaction may prove the more probable means to procure a ſetled peace. But to return, whence this Digreſſion hath been made. Some years were ſpent to bring things to this Iſſue: The Adventurers were put to much care and pains before they could get their Patent confirmed, and Renewed again; many obſtructions they met withal from ſome Interlopers that began to look into the Trade of this Country, and would irregularly have had a ſhare therein, or made it common to all Traders, to which End they petitioned to a Parliament then called, to bring about their Ends; but at the laſt it was ſetled firmly in the hands of ſundry Noble and worthy Patentees, Lords, Knights,

Knights, Gentlemen, and Merchants, commonly known by the Name of the Council of *Plimouth*, who had the absolute power under the King, for making all Grants, and disposing of all Lands from the 40*th* to the 48*th* Degrees of North Latitude; All which was accomplished about the year 1621. Some printed Relations that speak of these Transactions, write much of the flourishing state, and hopeful prosperity of this Plantation, published about Forty or fifty years since, yet did it never appear by what followed, that any considerable Advantage did ever accrue to the first undertakers from this their New-Plantation of the Eastern parts, unless by the Trade of Fish, and Furs, which latter continued not long; As for the former, The chief benefit redounded only to them that managed it by their own particular Stocks, and personal endeavours: And if without offence it may be spoken, the multitude of Patents soon after granted to several Gentlemen of broken Fortunes, have provided but places of an honourable Exile or Confinement, whither many deserving persons of better Education than Fortune, were put to shift for themselves in a Forrign Land, without being further troublesom to those nearer home, on whom they had their hopes and dependance; yet it must not be denied but that some of the undertakers were at vast expences, casting their Bread upon these waters, where none of their Friends & Relations have as yet had opportunity to find it.

The Reason of which is not hard to give, in reference to all those Lands and Territories that lye to the Eastward of *Pascataqua River*. One main Cause hath been the multiplicity of Grants and Patents for the dividing of the said Tract of Land: for besides the strife that hath been occasioned by the Intricacy and indistinctness of their Liberties and Bounds (enough to have maintained a greater number of Lawyers, than ever were the Inhabitants) If the Grantees had been supplyed with monies proportionable to their Suits and Controversies about their bounds and Jurisdictions, which sometimes they have been ready to decide with their Swords, witness those fatal Names imposed on such accounts upon some places belonging to those parts, as *Bloody point*, *Black and Blew point*, and every considerable parcel of Land being by Patent granted to several particular persons, hindred the erecting of Townships and Villages, which if it had been otherwise disposed of, might have been full of Towns, and well peopled, and thereby the Inhabitants had been able to have stood upon their Guard, and defended themselves against the common Enemy, whereas now they were but like *Scopæ dissolutæ*, or like his Arrows that being bound up in one bundle, could not be broken by an ordinary Force, but being loose, were easily snapt

asunder

aſunder, by any ſingle hand. Another reaſon might be, the imploying of ſuch *Agents* and *Inſtruments* as either vvanted *skill* or *fidelity* to manage what they were *betruſted with*, which made many of the *Adventurers* long ago complain, that (inſtead of *Bills of Exchange*, & other Returns which they expected) they received nothing but large *Inventories* of the wants of their ſeveral Plantations, and the ſervants ſent over to improve them, which were all the Returns that many of them ever received for the large ſums of money many disburſed for the carrying on their affairs.

A third reaſon may be the ſeveral Changes of Government the Inhabitants have paſſed under, which have occaſioned not only much vexation & expences to ſuch as were upon the place; but much diſcouragment to ſeveral others, who by the commodiouſneſs of the Seat, would willingly have choſen Station in thoſe parts, had they ſeen any hope of a ſetled Government ever like to have been obtained; which is not hard to demonſtrate, by giving a little touch as we paſs along, on the ſeveral changes of Government, the places forementioned have been moulded into, and the ſeveral Proprietors that of late have claimed Intereſt in the Land. In the year 1624, a Patent was granted by the Council of *Plimouth* the grand Proprietors, to Capt. *Maſon* for a large tract of Land about *Paſcataqua*, but it not being diſtinctly bounded, himſelf with Sir *Ferd. Gorges*, obtained a joint Patent in the year 1639, for the Land betwixt *Saga de Hock* Eaſt, and *Naum Keag* Weſt; but that alſo interfering with the bounds granted before that time to ſundry Gentlemen & Merchants that had obtained a Patent from the South of *Charles* River to the Northward of *Merrimack*; Capt. *Maſons* bounds were afterwards by conſent (as is ſaid) of his Agent or Agents, reduced to ſome branches about *Paſcataqua* River (who yet could not agree with thoſe that acted in the name of *Shrewsbury*-men) but being wholly neglected by the pretended Proprietor or his ſucceſſors (till of late days) was by the deſire of the Inhabitants yielded up to the *Maſſachuſ.* Government, near 20 years ſince.

In the year 1630, a Patent was granted by the ſaid Council of *Plimouth*, (ſigned by the Earl of *Warwick*, and Sir *Ferdinand Gorges*, and ſealed with the common Seal of the Council aforeſaid) to *John Dye*, *Thomas Lupe*, *Grace Harding*, and *John Roath* of *London*, for a large tract of Land on the South of *Saga de Hock* forty mile ſquare by the Sea-ſide, and ſo up into the Country: *John Dye* aforeſaid, and his Partners took in another as Partner and Aſſociate with them, Mr. *Richard Dummer* of *Newbury* in *New-England*, in the year 1638, to whom they delivered the Original Patent, with an order from them and in their Name, to take up the Land deſcribed in the *Patent*; but he being denied oppor-

tunity to effect it, as also a Ship formerly sent by the Patentees for that End not accomplishing their desire, they not long after sold all their Intereſt in the said Patent, to one Mr. *Rigby* a *Lancashire* Gentleman, who made Mr. *Cleaves* his Agent to manage the buſineſs of his purchaſed Intereſt in the said Patent: To whom Mr. *Dummer* was ordered to deliver the Original Patent, which accordingly he did: What trouble was occaſioned ſoon after between the said Mr. *Cleaves* and Mr. *Vines* Agent for Sir *Ferdinando Gorges*, is well known to the Inhabitants of the place, and need not be here mentioned; nor yet how the said Mr. *Rigby* came afterward to loſe his Intereſt (at leaſt with the Inhabitants) in the Patent.

In the year 1632 Sir *Ferd. Gorges* not reſting in the joint Patent obtained for himſelf and Capt. *Maſon*, obtained a diſtinct Patent for himſelf, and got it confirmed by King *Charles* the firſt of bleſſed and famous memory, for all that large Tract of Land from *Sagadehock* to *Paſcataqua* River, and ſo about an 100 miles up into the Country, by the name of the Province of *Maine*. What benefit and improvement was ever made thereof by his Agents or Succeſſors, is beſt known to themſelves: But for the Inhabitants, who upon one account or another had been induced, either by any *precedaneous* grant or liberty from himſelf, or his Agents, to take up any Land within the bounds of the ſaid Province; they finding much inconvenience and trouble for want of an orderly and ſetled Government, did at the laſt Petition the General Court of the *Maſſachuſets* to be taken under their Juriſdiction and Government (reſerving the Liberties and Priviledges of their former Purchaſes and Grants, as to *Title, Poſſeſſion and Propriety*, to themſelves) which was granted them, though not only and altogether upon the grounds on which it was deſired by the Petitioners. Yet notwithſtanding all this, were not things ſetled either to the comfort or content of the Inhabitants: for ſometimes ſome demanded Right or Juriſdiction over them by virtue of Sir *Ferdinando*'s Patent, ſometimes Commiſſioners imployed by his *Highneſs the Duke of York*, attempted to ſettle a Government amongſt the People; ſometimes they tried what might be done by Agreement amongſt themſelves: but after their return for *England*, by one means or other, the Government relapſed again into the hands of the *Maſſachuſets*, although a *Superſedeas* thereunto ſeems to have been put by an Order from his Majeſty this laſt year.

By theſe ſeveral *Viciſſitudes* and changes of Government, the flouriſhing of the ſaid Province hath been much obſtructed, which elſe might have been much advanced, and the Inhabitants been put into a capacity

to have secured themselves against the late Barbarous Incursions of the *Indians*; and possibly those Exorbitancies that many of the present Proprietors have run into, to the just provocation of the *Indians*, might thereby have been prevented, and so the mischief also which hath ensued, might thereby have been averted: For a well ordered Government would never have suffered those things that now were connived at, which if they had been timely lookt into by such as had absolute or positive and unquestioned power of Rule in their hands, would have been otherwise ordered, the present mischief that is come upon those places, might thereby have been, if not prevented, yet more easily redressed, than now is like to be.

As for the Tract of Land that lies Eastward beyond *Kennibeck*, betwixt that and *Pemmaquid*, it is said to have belonged to one Mr. *Aldworth* and his Successors, who was Alderman of *Bristol*, and one that had a Patent thereof, and imployed some as his Agents, that did sometimes reside upon the place; and was lately setled in some order of Government by his *Highness* the *Duke of York*'s Commissioners, by whom also was an Agreement made betwixt the *Sagamores* of the *Indians* in those parts, and the *English*, at a Court kept by their Appointment in *Kennibeck*, which if it had been observed, might in all probability have prevented in great measure the quarrel which is now faln out betwixt the *English* and the said *Indians*: For upon some Jealousies of the Rising of those *Indians* about 12 or 13 years since, it was agreed, That if any mischief should happen to be done by the *English* or *Indians* one against another, though it were to the killing any person, neither side should right themselves, but complaint should be made to the *Sagamores* if the *Indians* did the wrong, and to the *Court* if it were done by the *English*. Both which did promise satisfaction should be made for the preventing any quarrel; the Names of the *Sachims*, as likewise of them that were in power at the Court, do still remain upon publick Record. But matters of Government in those parts being since *collapsed*, no Authority more than what was meerly voluntary and perswasive being owned, things are now brought to that sad state, which follows next to be declared.

Ever since the first setling of any *English* Plantation in those parts about *Kennibeck* for the space of above 50 years, the *Indians* always carried it fair, and held good Correspondence with the *English*, until the News came of *Philip*'s Rebellion, and Rising against the Inhabitants of *Plimouth* Colony in the end of *June* 1675. After which time, it was apprehended by such as had the Examination of the *Indians* about *Kennibeck*, that there was a general surmise amongst them, that they should

be required to assist the said *Philip*, although they would not own that they were at all engaged in the Quarrel. The like Jealousie did appear in all the *Indians* that inhabited to the Eastward of *Pascataqua*, which plainly shews that there was a design of a general Rising of the *Indians* against the *English*, all over the Country, (possibly as far as *Virginia*, the *Indians* there making Insurrection the same year) and that many if not most of them were willing it should succeed, although the elder and wiser of them liked it not, fearing the issue, as they had cause: But many of the young men about *Casco Bay*, and *Amonoscoggan* were certainly known to flock thither the last year, and did, sundry of them, come short home. For herein they acted but like Salvages, as those in *Virginia* did fifty years before, shewing themselves friendly and courteous to their new neighbours, till they had an opportunity to do them mischief. So that notwithstanding many of the Inhabitants in the Eastern as well as in the Western parts of the Country, that were wont to Trade with the *Indians*, were not willing to believe any such purpose amongst them, but were ready to think some of the ruder sort of the *English*, by their imprudent and irregular actings, had driven them into this Rebellion; yet is it too evident, that the said *Indians* (who naturally delight in bloody and deceitful actions) did lay hold of any opportunity that might serve for a pretence to be put upon their barbarous practices. The *Indians* about *Wammesets* and *Pascataqua*, that had joined with their Country-men in their rising against the *English* the last Winter, when they were pinched with hunger in the cold Winter following, returned back to the *English*, and desired to make peace, and firmly engaged to continue their wonted friendship; yea, some of them as if they were really sorry for their murthers and cruelty, of their own voluntary motion came with the Prisoners they had taken, and resigned them up to the *English*; yet when their own ends were answered, and another opportunity was offered of doing further mischief of like nature, they presently returned to their former practice, as is well known of *Simond* and *Andrew*, that had killed some, and led others captive in the last Spring from *Bradford* and *Haverhill*, who came in the end of *June* to Maj. *Walderns*, bringing home *English* Prisoners with them, yet did the very same *Indians* within less than two Months after join with the *Amonoscoggan* and *Kennibeck* Indians, in committing the sad Tragedies that were last acted in those parts; yet was he and the other his partner suffered to escape, for want of sufficient guarding the Prison, where they were put in order to further Trial. But *Sero sapiunt Phryges*; It is hoped that we shall after some few more experiences of this nature, learn

learn to beware of this subtle brood, and generation of Vipers. Ever since *Enmity was put between the seed of the Woman, and the seed of the Serpent*, it hath been the portion of her seed in every Generation, and in every Nation, to meet with the sad effects of that enmity; nor can they ever expect to find better dealing from any of the other sort, further than either fear of their power, or hope of benefit by their favour, may induce them to another disposition, as we the Inhabitants of *New-England* have found by this late and sad Experience in reference to those Pagans in the West amongst whom our lot is cast; they proving, as one says of the *Mahometans* in the East, like a nest of *Hornets*, that if any one of them chance to be provoked, they will be all about his ears that comes near them. But it is now time to begin with the particulars of the Tragedy it self, that the Reader account not the Prologue too long. It was *June* 24, 1675, when the first mischief was done by the *Indians* about *Mount-hope:* before 20 days were over, the fire began to kindle in these the most remote and most Northernly bounds of the said Country, or 250 miles distant; and upon this occasion: *July* 14. 1675, a Letter was brought to *Kennibeck* from one *Henry Sawyer* an Inhabitant of *York*, signifying the news of the *Indians* rising about *Plimouth*, and that a course was taken to disarm the *Indians* along the shore. This rumor did so far awaken the Inhabitants of those parts, that the very next day at a general meeting of the *English* at one Capt. *Pattishals* house, several offered themselves as Voluntiers to go up the said River of *Kennibeck*, to make discovery of the *Indians* fidelity, or else to fight them if occasion were. The third day after, marching up the River to *Quegeseck*, they met with the Inhabitants of *Ships Cot River*, which is a River lying about 12 or 14 miles to the North-east of *Kennibeck*. Divers of the *Indians* thereabouts, by the perswasions of one Mr. *Walker* that used to trade with them, brought down an inconsiderable part of their Ammunition, as a few Guns, a little Powder and Shot, with a few Knives. About 7 of the *Kennibeck* Indians, and 5 of those called *Ammoscogging* Indians, about *Pegypscot*, (a River more Southward toward *Casco*) made this shew of bringing in their Arms. Capt. *Lake*, Capt. *Pattishal*, with Mr. *Wiswal*, in whose hands was setled a kind of Military power for those parts, were sent for to examine the said *Indians* further, of whom upon Examination they saw reason to suspect some, if not all; whereupon they sent Messengers the second time to the *Ammoscogging* Indians, and also a Letter to Mr. *Walker* to send down their Arms and Ammunition to them for their greater security. After Mr. *Wiswal* was returned home, the 5 *Ammoscogging* Indians aforesaid brought in their Guns, but with no good intent

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probably; for an Indian called *Sowen*, having an Axe in his hand, ſtruck at one *Hoſea Mallet* a *French*-man, but vvas prevented from doing him miſchief; hovvever the ſaid *Indian* vvas preſently bound and put into a Cellar. Some of the *Engliſh* that uſed to Trade vvith thoſe *Indians*, vvere ready to excuſe the *Indian*, ſaying he vvas drunk, or that he vvas a diſtracted fellovv; but Mr. *Wiſwall* vvith the other tvvo Examinants lookt upon thoſe as meer Excuſes, and altogether groundleſs; for one of them to this day affirms, that he was as rational and ſenſible as any of the reſt.

The ancient *Indians* being asked what they thought was meet to be done in the ſaid caſe? ſaid, he was worthy to die for ſuch an affront, yet they would be glad if his life might be ſpared, offering to be jointly bound in his behalf, to pay 40 Beaver-skins at the next Fall-Voyage, giving their hands in token of their fidelity, and alſo leaving their Arms in the hands of the *Engliſh* as a Pledg of their faithful keeping thoſe Articles of Peace concluded on betwixt them. If they proved themſelves honeſt men, they were to have their Arms delivered them again, which was accordingly performed the laſt *June*, 1676. They having in the mean time carried themſelves peaceably toward the *Engliſh*. The day after, viz. *July* 19, 1675. An *Indian* of great note amongſt them, called *Robin Hood*, with great Applauſe of the reſt, made a Dance, and ſung a Song to declare their intent in what was tranſacted. And ſo they parted, ſetting the *Indians* at liberty, that had engaged thus for their friend *Sowen* the *Indian*; but yet to this day one skin of Beaver was never paid to the *Engliſh* as was promiſed. The *Indians* all this time were well provided for of Victuals by Capt. *Lake*, with other ſupplies of Rhum and Tobacco, even to the diſguſting of ſome *Engliſh* then preſent.

But the *Indians* left as Hoſtages upon *Sowen*'s account, how civilly ſoever they were treated, ran all away at the laſt, truſting more to the celerity of their own feet, than to the civility of their *Engliſh* Friends; who after they were eſcaped, joined with a parcel of their Fellows ſoon after about twenty in all, in robbing the houſe of one Mr. *Purchaſe* an ancient Planter about *Pegypſcot*-River, and a known Trader with the *Indians*; whatever wrong may be pretended by the ſaid *Indians*, as done them in their Trading, (of which more may be ſpoken afterwards) that will no whit excuſe their perfidious treachery & falſhood in breaking Covenant with the *Engliſh*, diſſembling, and ſeeking all Advantages of cruelty againſt their *Engliſh* Neighbours, of which in the following Winter and Summer, 1676, there will be a more full and undeniable diſcovery. This was done in the beginning of *September*, 1675. Thoſe *Indians* that firſt aſſaulted Mr. *Purchaſe* his houſe, did no other miſchief,

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save plundering it of strong Liquor, and Ammunition, also killing a Calf or two, with a few Sheep, but no more than what they eat, and spoiling a Feather-bed, by ripping it open to turn out the Feathers, contenting themselves with the Case, which they might more easily carry away. They offered no incivility to the Mistress of the House, (her Husband and her Sons being at that time from home) yet one of her Sons approaching near the House, and finding it possessed of those new Inhabitants, he rode away with all speed, and yet no faster than there was need; for an *Indian* followed him with a Gun under his Coat, to have shot at him, if he could by his flattery and dissembling have got him within the reach of his Piece.

It is said, that at the first they used fair words, and spake of Trading; but as they went away, told those of the house, That there were others coming after, that would deal far worse with them, which within a short time after came to pass, for these were but the messengers of death, which was soon after inflicted, and that in a most barbarous manner upon sundry Inhabitants of the Neighbouring Plantations.

The *English* in those parts being much incensed hereat, twenty-five of them soon after going up *Casco-Bay* in a Sloop and two Boats to gather *Indian* Corn, and to look to what they had upon the said Bay near *Amonoscoggen* River: when they came near the Houses, they heard a knocking and a noise about the houses, and presently espied two or three *Indians*, who did not yet see them: The *English* being come a good way from their Vessel, endeavoured to get between the *Indians* and the Woods, which when they perceived, they ran toward the water-side, but the *English* in pursuit killed one of them, and wounded another, who yet escaped away in a Canoo cross the River, a third running back toward the Woods, fled to the other *Indians*, and acquainted them with what was done, who presently came down, and lay in wait to intercept the *English*, that thought of no danger, but scattered themselves all about the place to gather their Corn, and lade the Boats therewith; but before they were ready to go away, the *Indians* coming down, fired upon them, and forced them all into the Sloop; had not some of them been better prepared than the rest, they might all have been cut off, for some little resistance being made by them that were ready with their Guns, it gave the rest an opportunity to get all into the Sloop, yet not without many wounds: So with much ado, they all escaped with their lives, leaving the two Boats almost laden with Corn for a prey to the *Indians*, who presently burned one, and plundred the other of all that was therein; some are ready to think that

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the Engliſh did imprudently to begin the Quarrel, and not firſt enquire into what the *Indians* were about in the houſe, and ſeek redreſs according to the forementioned agreement made at the Court in *Kennibeck*. But if this hapned after what follows next to be related, *viz.* that which was done to old *Wakely* and his Family, (the *Engliſh* can be blamed for nothing but their negligence and ſecurity, in that having alarmed their enemies, they ſtood not better upon their guard) which is not very certain. For 'tis thought that within a few days after, or the next week, more horrible outrage was committed upon the Family of an ancient man, whoſe Name was *Wakely*, an Inhabitant of *Caſco-Bay*, who had ſome years before removed from *Glouceſter*, or *Cape Anne* out of ſome diſcontent, which afterwards he often bewailed, reſolving either to have returned back, or elſe to have removed to ſome ſecurer place; but he was arreſted by the ſons of violence, before he could effect his purpoſe. This Old man with his Wife, his Son, and his Daughter in Law (at that time great with Child) with three grand Children, were cruelly murdered by thoſe barbarous Salvages at one time: another of his grand Children was taken alive, and led into Captivity, a daughter of his was ſaid to be carried to *Narhaganſet*, which ſhews they joined with the Southern *Indians* in the Rebellion; when once theſe *Indians* had imbrued their hands in *Engliſh* blood, they were emboldened to the like bloody attempts in the adjacent places.

This *Wakely* lived ſo far from Neighbours, or elſe was encompaſſed with Creeks or Rivers, that no Relief could preſently be ſent to him: however Lieut. *Ingerſon* of *Caſco* the next day with a File of men, repaired to the place where his houſe ſtood, to ſee what was the reaſon of the Fire they diſcerned the day before; there they found the Houſe burned to aſhes, the bodies of the Old man and his Wife half conſumed with the fire, the young woman killed, and three of the grand Children having their brains daſhed out, and their bodies were laid under ſome Oaken Planks, not far from the houſe; one Girle of about eleven years old, was carried Captive by them, and having been carried up and down the Country ſome hundreds of miles, as far as *Narhaganſet* Fort, was this laſt *June* returned back to Major *Walderne*, by one *Squando* the *Sagamore* of *Saco*: A ſtrange mixture of Mercy and Cruelty!

Soon after Capt. *Bonithon*'s and Major *Philip*'s Dwellings were aſſaulted, one on the Eaſt, the other on the Weſt ſide of *Saco*-River. It is ſaid, they had ſeaſonable notice of what was intended againſt them by their barbarous Enemies. Thoſe *Amoroſcoggan* Indians, *viz.* by an Indian of *Saco*, their Neighbour, better minded than the reſt of his Country-

Country-men: who obſerving a ſtrange *Indian* coming to his Wigwam in company with ſome of his acquaintance, one of whom informed him, after the reſt (with the ſtranger) were gone, That the ſaid ſtranger came from the Weſtward, and that his buſineſs was to perſwade the Eaſtern *Indians* to fall upon the Engliſh in their dwellings here, as the reſt had done to the Weſtward. Captain *Bonithon*, either upon this Information, or upon the knowledg of what was done a little before at *Caſco*, had left his Houſe, and was retired over the River with his Family to Major *Philips* his Gariſon. Thus two are better than one: for otherwiſe, both might have been deſtroyed. For upon the 18*th* of *September* following, being the ſeventh day of the week, about eleven a Clock, they at Major *Philips* his Gariſon ſaw Captain *Bonithon*'s Houſe on fire on the Eaſt ſide of *Saco River*, which by the good Providence of God was to them as the firing of a Beacon, giving them notice to look to themſelves, their Enemies being now come: for otherwiſe, they might to their great diſadvantage have been too ſuddenly ſurprized; for within half an hour after, they were upon them, when a Sentinel placed in the Chamber gave notice, that he ſaw an *Indian* by the Fence-ſide, near a Corn-field; Major *Philips*, not willing to believe till he might ſee with his own Eyes, ran haſtily up; another of his men, coming after, cryed *Maſter, What mean you, do you intend to be killed?* at which words, he turned ſuddenly back from the window, out of which he was looking, when preſently a Bullet ſtruck him on the ſhoulder, grazing only upon it, without breaking the bone. The *Indians* upon the ſhot, thinking he had been ſlain thereby (as they heard afterwards) gave a great ſhout, upon which they diſcerned that they were ſurrounded by them; whereupon they preſently fired upon the Enemy from all Quarters, and from the Flankers of the Fortification, ſo as they wounded the Captain of the *Indians*, who preſently leaving the Aſſault, retired three or four miles from the place, where he ſoon after died, as they were informed: He counſelled them to leave the Siege, but they were reſolved not ſo to quit the place, nor were thoſe within, leſs reſolute to defend it: one of the beſt men was ſoon after diſabled from any further ſervice, by a wound which he received in one of the Volleys made upon them by the Aſſailants: But that no whit daunted the reſt of the Defendants, who continued ſtill firing amain upon the Enemy: This Diſpute laſted about an hour, after which the Enemy deſpairing to take the Houſe by Aſſault, thought upon a device how to burn it.

Firſt, firing the Houſe of one of his Tenants, then his Saw-mill, after that his Corn-mill, hoping by that means to draw them out of the Ga-

Gariſon to put out the fire; but miſſing of their purpoſe in that they called out, *You Engliſh cowardly Dogs, come out and quench the Fire*: They continued this ſport all the afternoon, continually almoſt without any intermiſſion firing upon them: The beſieged hoped for relief from the Town, but none came. The Major ſtill encouraging his men to ſtand it out, which they manfully did all that night, when they were alarm'd almoſt every half hour: and betwixt whiles they could hear their Axes and other Inſtruments, knocking about the Mills till the next day: They within the Houſe conceived they were preparing ſome Engin wherewith to burn the Houſe, which proved accordingly; for about four or five a Clock in the morning, at the ſetting of the Moon, the Major was called by one of his men to look out, when he ſaw a Cart with four wheels, having a Barricado built in the forepart to keep off ſhot, and filled with combuſtible matter, birch-rinds, ſtraw, powder, and poles twenty foot long, apt to fire the Houſe: he bid them let them drive it within Piſtol-ſhot, before they made any ſhot againſt them: His men were a little diſcouraged at the ſight of this Engine; but he bid them be of good courage, and uſe the means, putting their truſt in God; who, he was confident would deliver them. The Cart, when brought a little nearer, became unweildy by reaſon of the Barricado planted in it, and being to paſs through a ſmall gutter, one wheel ſtuck faſt in the Slough, which brought the Cart ſuddenly to the Left, whereby the Drivers lay all open to their right Flanker, when preſently they fired upon them out of the ſaid Flanker; and having ſo fair a ſhot upon them, and not being above Piſtol-ſhot from the place, they killed ſix of the Enemy, & wounded fifteen, as they found afterwards, which no doubt made them too late to repent of their reſolution, not to follow their Captains Counſel and Example in leaving the Siege, for now they preſently departed: ſo as at Sun-riſe, they within the Houſe eſpyed forty of them marching away, but how many more were in the Company they could not tell.

The *Indians* it ſeemed went towards *Blue-point*, where it is ſaid they killed ſeveral perſons: but thoſe in the Houſe feared they went for more help, and expected their return; but it ſeems their courage failed them as to another attempt upon an Houſe well gariſoned, and manfully defended. Major *Philips* ſent to the Town for help, acquainting them with what had paſſed, but none was ſent them, either that day, or the next: ſo as having ſpent almoſt all their Ammunition, the people that were with him, would not be perſwaded to tarry longer than the *Thurſday* morning, which conſtrained him and his Family to remove to the Town; about a fortnight after, the *Indians* hearing thereof, came and burnt down the

the empty Houſe. There were fifty perſons in the ſaid Houſe during the time of the Siege, and but ten able hands: they had five more that could do ſomething, but through age, or minority, not able to make any notable Reſiſtance; yet it pleaſed God, in whoſe hands are all mens lives and limbs, and who is never wont to fail them who in time of danger are ſo ready to confide in his power and goodneſs, as not to neglect the uſe of due means for their own Preſervation: ſo to order things, that not one perſon of all thoſe fifty, was either killed, or mortally wounded. Major *Philips* himſelf was wounded, but not dangerouſly, at the beginning of the Aſſault: his Mills with other Edifices were the firſt day burned by the Enemy, and ſo were all the Houſes at *Saco*, or moſt of them ſoon after, that were above the Fiſher-mans ſtages. One Mrs. *Hitcock*, being carried Captive by the Enemy from the ſame place, died in the Winter following, by eating ſome poyſonous Root inſtead of a ground-nut, as was reported by the *Indians* afterwards.

Much about the ſame time, five perſons going up the River of *Saco*, were all killed by the ſame *Indians*.

Theſe Tragedies being thus acted at *Caſco Bay*, and *Saco*, thoſe Barbarous Enemies diſperſed themſelves in parties, intending to do all the miſchief they could to all the Engliſh inhabiting about that ſide of the Country. In the ſame month of *September*, they came down towards *Paſcataqua*, doing the like ſpoil upon the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Branches of that River, which they had been doing elſewhere: In the firſt place, they burned the two *Cheſlies* Houſes about *Oyſter River*, and killed two men that were paſſing along the River in a *Canoe*; and carried away an old Iriſh-man, with a young man taken from about *Exeter*, who yet both of them ſoon after made an eſcape to a Gariſon at *Salmon Falls* in *Kittary*, by the help of an *Indian* better minded than the reſt: the firſt after ſeven weeks, the other after a Months Captivity.

Much about that time, one Goodman *Robinſon* of *Exeter* with his ſon, were travelling toward *Hampton*, where, as they paſſing a-long, they were way-laid by three *Indians*, viz. *John Sampſon*, *Cromwel*, and *John Linde*, who ſhot down the old man, whom they left dead upon the place; his ſon, hearing the Guns eſcaped their hands, by running into a Swamp whither the *Indians* purſued him, but could not overtake him, ſo as he got ſafe into *Hampton* abought midnight, where he declared what befell him by the way, and how narrowly he avoided the danger; intimating likewiſe, that he feared his Father was killed, which was found too true, by Lieut. *Swet*, who the next day with a dozen Soldiers of the Town went to ſearch thoſe Woods, where they found the poor old man, ſhot

through at his back, the Bullet having pierced through his Body, and was ſtopped by the skin on the other ſide: Another of *Exeter*, called *Foulſam*, was at the ſame time driving a pair of Oxen in the ſame Road: where, ſoon after he heard the Report of the Guns when *Robinſon* was killed, he eſpyed the three *Indians* creeping upon their bellies towards him, to do as much for him as they had done for *Robinſon*; but leaving his Oxen, he put on his Horſe with all ſpeed, and ſo was delivered from the danger that the other fell into; it is reported that one of the *Indians* made a ſhot at him, but he was either gotten out of their reach, or elſe they miſſed their aim at that time. The ſame *Indians* had a little before met with another Engliſh-man in thoſe Woods, one *Charles Randlet*, whom they carried Captive, although he ſoon after eſcaped out of their hands by the help of another *Indian* called *James*. It is ſaid, there were four *Indians* of that Company, and that the fourth was ſent away with *Randlet*, ſo that there were but three ſeen together at the killing and purſuing the other forementioned. One of the ſaid *Indians*, viz. *John Sampſon*, was killed by ſome of Capt. *Hathorns* Soldiers at *Caſco Bay*, in *September* following 1676, when the Scouts of our Forces came upon the *Indians* on the ſudden, and had a ſmall bruſh with them, but all the reſt made ſhift to get away: As for the other two, *viz. Cromwel*, and *John Linde*: one of them, it is ſaid, is ſince killed, or taken and ſold away, the other is at *Kennibeck*, whom vengeance may alſo in due time overtake, as it hath done the other.

Within a few days after the barbarous Fact at *Oyſter-River*, two *Indians*, viz. one named *Andrew*, and the other *Hope hood*, the Son of him called *Robin-Hood*, aſſaulted the Houſe of one *Tozer* at *Newechewannick*, wherein were fifteen perſons, yet all women and children, who without all doubt had all of them fallen into the mercileſs hands of the two cruel and barbarous Caitiffs, had not a young maid of about eighteen years of Age firſt eſpyed them: who being endued with more Courage than ordinarily the reſt of her Sex uſe to be (the bleſſing of *Jael* light upon her) firſt ſhut the door, whereby they were denied Entrance, till the reſt within eſcaped to the next Houſe, that was better Fortified; That young *Virago* kept the door faſt againſt them ſo long till the *Indians* had chop'd it in pieces with their Hatchets: when entring the Houſe, they knocked the poor maid down with their Hatchets, and gave her many other wounds, leaving her for dead upon the place; after which, they paſſed on toward the next dwelling: in their way meeting with two children, that had eſcaped the houſe firſt broken open by them, they killed one of them, of three years old, which could not follow faſt enough,

enough, or elſe they that carried it, could not convey it over a Fence ſoon enough to ſave themſelves and it; and carried away the other of ſeven year old, which yet was returned ſafe within half a year after: The poor Maid that had ventured her own Life ſo far, to ſave many others, was by a ſtrange Providence enabled to recover ſo much ſtrength after they were gone, as to repair to the next Gariſon, where ſhe was ſoon after healed of her wounds, and reſtored to perfect health again.

The next day toward night more of the barbarous Enemies being gathered together, they made another Aſſault upon the neighbouring dwellings.

The Engliſh, as many as could be ſpared out of the Gariſon, (not above Eight in number) purſued after them about half a mile, but night coming on, it was judged beſt to retreat, leſt otherwiſe they might have been intercepted in their return home, by any of them lying in Ambuſh, which is their uſual way of doing miſchief. After divers ſhot made on both ſides, but Five of the Enemies appeared: who yet took the advantage of Captain *Wincals* abſence, (whoſe dwelling was not far off) to burn his Houſe and Barn, with another Houſe, and Two Barns more, where was much Engliſh Corn; above an Hundred Buſhels was ſuppoſed to be in one of them. After they had done this miſchief, they fled away.

The next day after, the ſame *Indians*, or others of their Fellows, came upon the other ſide of the River, from whence they ſhot over ſeveral times, to ſome that were grinding in the Mill, but after the exchanging of many ſhot on both ſides of the River, betwixt them, ſix of the Enemy ſhewed themſelves in the Twilight, uttering ſeveral inſolent and barbarous Speeches, calling our men Engliſh dogs, *&c.* yet all this while out of reach of their ſhot, and then they ran all away like Dogs after they had done barking.

After this, thoſe very *Indians*, as was ſuppoſed, burned Five or ſix Houſes about *Oiſter River*, and killed Two men, *viz.* one *William Roberts* and his Son in Law. The Inhabitants of *Dover*, with ſome other Reſolute young men, being much provoked by theſe many inſolencies and injuries done by the Enemies, obtained liberty from the Major of the Regiment, to try whether they could not meet with ſome of the *Indians*, by ſecret Ambuſhes, and ſculking amongſt the Buſhes and Trees, as the *Indians* uſed to do with them; to which end about twenty divided themſelves into ſeveral ſmall parties: ſoon after as they were looking after the Enemy, a party of ours eſpied Five of the *Indians*, ſome gathering

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Corn in the Field while the reſt of them were buſied in heating of an Oven to bake ſome of the fruit which they gathered alſo in the ſame Field.

The Engliſh were at ſuch a diſtance that they could not make any ſign to their Fellows, without being diſcovered by the *Indians* in the Field; wherefore Two of them crept as near as they could to the Houſe, at one end of the Field, where they ſuddenly ruſhed upon Two of the wretches, and knocked them down with the Butt end of their Muskets, which was done ſilently; but the other Three in the Field took the Alarm, and fled away, who elſe might as eaſily have been ſurprized as the other two.

Theſe outrages thus daily committed, filled all the Plantations about *Paſcataqua* with fear and confuſion; ſcarce any place, where there was not either Reaſon for ſome to complain of the loſs of their Friends, or burning of their Houſes; which cauſed moſt of them that lived ſcatteringly, at any diſtance from Neighbours, either to gariſon their Houſes, or elſe to deſert their own dwellings, and to repair to their next Neighbours that were better fortified than themſelves; but all the Inhabitants in thoſe parts in general, were Alarmed to ſtand upon their Guard.

On the ſeventh of *October* following, being a day of publick Humiliation, a man was ſhot down, as he was riding between Two Gariſon houſes about *Newechewannick*, and dyed of his wounds within two hours after; about the ſame inſtant of time Two young men were ſhot dead about a mile from that place; Theſe two had their Arms or Guns with them, which were carried away by them that killed them, together with their upper garments: It is not ſaid that theſe three laſt, (though killed upon a day of Humiliation) were ſurprized in their repairing to, or returning from the place of publick worſhip, which would in a great meaſure have abated the ſorrow of their ſad Funerals, if when they were ſuddenly arreſted by the Harbingers of Death, they had been found ſo doing.

Soon after this, they Aſſaulted another Houſe at *Oyſter River*, the which, although it was gariſoned, yet meeting with a good old man, whoſe Name was *Beard*, without the Gariſon, they killed him upon the place, and in a barbarous manner cut off his head, and ſet it upon a Pole in deriſion; not far off about the ſame time they burned another Houſe and Barn.

Upon the Sixteenth of *October*, being *Saturday*, about an Hundred of the *Indians* were gathered together, to Aſſault *Newechewannick*; They began with one named *Tozer*, half a mile from the upper Gariſon, at *Salmon Falls*. The ſaid *Tozer* was preſently killed, his Son taken

Captive,

Captive, (but returned after ſome Months Reſtraint) ſeveral Guns being ſhot at this Aſſault, Alarmed Lieut. *Plaiſted* at the next Gariſon, who like a man of a publick Spirit immediately ſent out Seven men from the Gariſon under his Command, to ſee what the matter was; but being met by an Ambuſh laid in the way as they went, loſt two or three of their Company, the reſt hardly eſcaping back to the place whence they came, whereupon the ſaid Lieut. *Plaiſted* immediately diſpatched away a Meſſenger to Major *Waldern* at *Quechecho*, which becauſe it ſeems to be the laſt time that ever that good and uſeful man ſet Pen to Paper, ſhall here be inſerted.

Salmon Falls, October 16. 1675.

Mr. Richard Waldern *and Lieut.* Coffin, *Theſe are to inform you, that juſt now the* Indians *are engaging us with at leaſt One hundred men, and have ſlain Four of our men already*, Richard Tozer, James Barney, Iſaac Bottes, *and* Tozer's *Son, and burnt* Benoni Hodſdens *houſe; Sir, if ever you have any love for us, and the Country, now ſhew your ſelf with men to help us, or elſe we are all in great danger to be ſlain, unleſs our God wonderfully appear for our deliverance. They that cannot fight, let them pray:* Nought elſe, but I Reſt,

Yours to ſerve you,

Signed by, *Roger Plaiſted,*
George Broughton.

What Anſwer was returned to this importunate and pathetical Letter, is not fully known at preſent; moſt probably he that was moſt concerned in the Contents of it, was either abſent from home, or in no Capacity to ſend the Relief deſired; which if it could have been had, might have prevented the ſaid miſchief that fell out the next day; when Lieut. *Plaiſted* being more earneſtly bent to perform that laſt office of love to his deceaſed Friends, whom he could not by all his endeavours ſave from the danger of death, while they were in the Land of the living, would needs venture himſelf with Twenty Soldiers out of his Gariſon, to fetch off the dead bodies.

To that end he ordered a pair of Oxen to be yoken to bring them to his Gariſon, in order to their Chriſtian buryal, not conſidering that the *Indians* lay ſculking thereabouts, waiting for ſuch opportunities. They went firſt to the furtheſt place, where they found *Ro. Tozers* body, and put it into their Cart; but coming back to take up the other Two bodies

dies, which were fallen in a little Swamp nearer to the Garison, they were set upon by an Hundred and fifty of the Enemy, that had hid themselves in the Bushes, and under a Stone-wall, and Loggs in the way as they were to pass; by the sudden noise of the Guns, the Cattel being frighted, ran away to the Garison with such of the dead as were first laid up thereon, (and possibly with one of them wounded at that instant) leaving their owners to fight it out with their Enemies. Lieut. *Plaisted* being thus desperately Assaulted, he with his Twenty men, was forced to retreat to a place of better advantage; but being there so hotly pursued, they were not able to abide it long; although they killed and mortally wounded several of the *Indians*, as themselves have since confessed: but they most of them being so much overmatched, took the opportunity of a fair Retreat, and so got safe to their Garison, while Lieut. *Plaisted* out of the height of his Courage, disdaining either to fly from, or yield himself (for 'tis said, the *Indians* were loth to kill him, but desirous rather to take him Prisoner) into the hands of such cursed Caitiffs, did fight it out desperately, till he was slain upon the place, his Eldest Son and another man were slain in their too late Retreat, and his other Son was sorely wounded, so that he dyed within a few weeks after.

The *Indians* were contented with this mischief for the present (and indeed if all the English they had to deal with, had shewed the like Resolution with this *Plaisted*, they would not have done half the mischief that since hath been done by them) and slunk away into the Woods before the next day, when Captain *Frost* came up from *Sturgeon Creek*, (a few miles below the River) with a party of his Friends, and buryed the dead: During these onsets, the Enemy also took their advantage to burn three houses, and two Barns before, they left the place.

The latter end of the same Month they burned a Mill near the same place belonging to Mr. *Hutchinson* a Merchant of *Boston*; from whence they came down lower toward *Sturgeon Creek*, where they burned one House, and killed two men, not far from Captain *Frost*'s dwelling; he escaping himself very narrowly, being shot at by the Enemy, about Ten in number, who might easily have burned his House, and taken all that were in it, being but three boys besides himself, had he not used this Policy, to call out to some to march this and the other way, to look after the *Indians*, as if he had had many at hand to Command, which under God was the means of his escape; for his House was neither Fortified, nor well manned, yet was far from Neighbours.

The next day the said *Indians* passed down the River on *Kittary* side, killed one man, whose House they first plundered, and then set it on

on fire; All this was done juſt over againſt *Portſmouth*, from whence out of a ſmall Battery was diſcharged a piece of Ordinance, which by a good Providence was directed ſo to fling its ſhot, as it fell very near a party of the *Indians*: for they were ſo afrighted therewith (if none of them were killed) that they left a good part of their plunder near the place. They were purſued by ſome of the Engliſh before they could recover their home, and by the help of the Snow that fell about that time, were traced till they were overtaken: but being near a Swamp, themſelves eſcaped for haſte, leaving two of their Packs behind them.

Soon after they went up the River again to *Quechecho*, where they burned an Houſe, and two or three Barns. Another party of them got over beyond the other Branches of *Paſcataqua River*, toward *Exeter*, and *Lampny Eyl River*, where they killed one man: ſundry of them were ſeen in the Woods about *Exeter*; and between *Hampton* and *Exeter*, where they killed one or two men in the Woods as they were travelling homewards, occaſioned the people of thoſe Towns to ſtand continually upon their guard, which proved a great annoyance to the Inhabitants.

But to look a little back to the Plantations more Eaſtward from *Paſcataqua River*, where theſe outrages of the *Indians* firſt began.

At *Caſco Bay*, Lieut. *Ingerſons* ſon, with another man, going out a-fowling about this time, were both killed before they returned home, his Fathers Houſes being burned, with many others alſo thereabouts.

At *Black-point*, Lieut. *Augur* with two more were aſſaulted by the *Indians*, where after many ſhot exchanged betwixt them, himſelf was ſo wounded that he died ſoon after, and his Brother was alſo killed in a few days afterwards, not far from the ſame place,

When the riſing of the *Indians* firſt began in thoſe Eaſtern parts, (with us called the County of *York-ſhire*), Captain *Wincol* of *Newechewannick*, with ſome others, having a ſympathy for the ſufferings of the Neighbours, marched up that way with a ſmall party of men: In his firſt skirmiſh with the Enemy, he chanced to loſe two or three of his Company; the reſt being not above eleven in all, as they were marching along by the Sea-ſide, were aſſaulted by a great number of the *Indians*, judged to be an hundred and fifty: he being had beſet with ſo great a number, retreated to an heap of Bolts that lay near the Water-ſide, by the ſhelter of which they lay ſafe from the *Indians* Guns, and ſo well plyed their few Guns, that they ſlew many of their Enemies, and put them all to a kind of Rout at the laſt: After which by the help of an old *Canoo*, they recovered ſafe to the other

ſide of the Bank. But nine *Saco* men had worſe ſucceſs, who yet came with a very good Intention to help their Friends, upon the hearing of their Guns; but as they came to reſcue Captain *Wincol* with his ſmall party, they themſelves fell into an Ambuſh of the *Indians*, and ſo were all cut off, with two other men alſo, near the place where the firſt Skirmiſh was; for the *Indians* from the ſhore-ſide could diſcern any that were coming towards them, when they were a great way off, and ſo might eaſily way-lay them, before they could come up to them. Near upon ſeven Houſes were burned about this time, and ſome perſons killed at *Black-point*.

Two perſons likewiſe were killed at *Wells* in the beginning of the Winter, one of them was a ſervant to Mr. *William Simons* (one of the principal men in the Town aforeſaid): the Gentleman himſelf with his Family, were removed to a Gariſon-houſe in the middle of the Town, his ſervant going early in the morning to look after ſome buſineſs there, tarryed longer than was needful to provide ſomething for himſelf; the *Indians* invited themſelves to breakfaſt with him, making the poor Fellow pay the ſhot, when they had done, with the loſs of his life.

A week after, one *Croſs* was ſlain at *Wells* likewiſe, who was a kind of diſtracted Fellow. Alſo one *Iſaac Couſins* was there killed in the beginning of Winter, after there had been ſome Overtures of peace betwixt Major *Waldern* and the *Indians*.

With ſuch kind of mutual Encounters was the latter part of the year ſpent betwixt the *Indians* and the Engliſh from *Paſcataqua River* to *Kennibeck*, from the beginning of *Auguſt* to the end of *November*, wherein many were ſlain on both ſides: in one place, and in another; of the Engliſh in thoſe parts were ſlain upward of fifty. The Enemy loſt, as appeared afterward by their own Confeſſion above ninety, partly in the foreſaid Skirmiſhes, and partly in their joyning with the *Indians* to the Weſtward, whither it is ſaid, many of them were invited to repair, to help to deſtroy the Engliſh, in hope to enjoy their poſſeſſions afterwards: But God had otherwiſe determined, who did ariſe at laſt to ſave the meek Ones of the Earth, and plead the Cauſe of his People.

The Governour and Council of the *Maſſachuſets*, had at this time their hands full with the like Attempts of *Philip* and his Complices to the Weſtward; yet were not unmindful of the deplorable Condition of theſe Eaſtern Plantations; having committed the care thereof to the Majors of the Reſpective Regiments of the ſeveral Counties on that ſide of the Country, but more eſpecially to the care and prudence of the Honoured Major *D. Deniſon*, the Major General of the whole Colony, a

Gentle-

Gentleman, who by his great inſight in, and long Experience of all Martial Affairs, was every way accompliſhed for the managing that whole affair; He had, to eaſe the other ſide of the Country, drawn out a ſufficient number of Soldiers from the next Countries, to have reduced all the *Indians* Eaſtward to their obedience; but juſt as they were intended to march up to the Head-quarters of the *Indians*, to fall upon them there, *viz.* to *Oſſapy*, and *Pigwauchet*, about an hundred miles up into the Country Northward.

The Winter ſetting in ſo ſharp and ſevere in the beginning of *December*, and latter end of *November*, it was not poſſible to have marched a days journey into the Woods, without hazarding all their lives that ſhould venture up: The Snow being found generally in thoſe Woods four foot thick on the 10*th* of *December*, ſo as it was not poſſible for any to have travelled that way, unleſs they carried Rackets under their feet, wherewith to walk upon the top of the Snow. This alone conſideration forced them to lay aſide their deſigns for the preſent, but ſoon after it was done to their hands; for the depth of the Snow, and ſharpneſs of the cold were ſo extream, that the *Indians* in thoſe parts were ſo pinched therewith, that being Hunger-ſtarved, they began to ſue for peace, making their Addreſs firſt to Major *Waldern* on that account, by whoſe mediation that whole Body of *Indians* Eaſtward were brought to an hopeful concluſion of peace, which was mutually agreed upon; and poſſibly might have remained firm enough to this day, had there not been too juſt an occaſion given for the breaking of the ſame by the wicked practice of ſome lewd perſons, which opened the door, and made way for the bringing in all thoſe ſad Calamities and miſchiefs that have ſince fallen upon thoſe parts of the Country, as ſhall be hereafter declared.

In the latter end of *June*, 1676, the *Indians* that had made a general Conſpiracy againſt the Engliſh were ſtrangely diſperſed, and diſpirited, ſo as they from that time began to ſeparate one from another, and every Nation of them to ſhift for themſelves, as hath been already mentioned in the former part of this *Narrative*. *Canonicus* the great Sachim of the *Narhaganſets*, diſtruſting the proffers of the Engliſh, was ſlain in the Woods by the *Mohawks*, his *Squaw* ſurrendring her ſelf: by this means her Life was ſpared.

Many of thoſe about *Lancaſter*, and the places adjoyning thereunto, did cunningly endeavour to hide themſelves amongſt thoſe *Indians* about *Paſcataqua*, that had newly made their ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh, by Major *Walderns* means, and concluded a peace; yet could nei-

ther diſſemble their nature and diſpoſition paſt before from ſuſpition of miſchief, nor yet ſo artificially conceal their perſons, but they were eaſily diſcerned by ſuch as in former times had any acquaintance with the Eaſtern *Indians* by way of Trade, or other Converſe: Whereupon the Forces newly raiſed in the *Maſſachuſets*, under the Command of Captain *William Hathorne*, and Captain *Joſeph Sill*, deſigned for the ſubduing of thoſe *Indians* about the River of *Merrimack*, and *Paſcataqua*, that ſtill ſtood out in Hoſtility againſt the Engliſh, meeting with thoſe under the Command of Major *Waldern* aforeſaid, and Capt. *Froſt* of *Kittary*: It was mutually agreed betwixt thoſe ſeveral Commanders, to ſeize upon all thoſe *Indians* that at that time were met together about Major *Walderns* dwelling at *Quochecho*; The Contrivement ſucceeded according to expectation, and all the ſaid *Indians* were handſomly ſurprized, *September 6th.* 1676, without the loſs of any perſons life, either *Indian* or Engliſh, to the number of near four hundred; by which device, after our Forces had them all in their hands, they ſeparated the peaceable from the perfidious, that had been our Enemies, during the late Troubles: finding about two hundred involved in the former Rebellion, more or leſs, accordingly they ſent down to the Governour and Council at *Boſton*, who adjudged ſeven or eight of them immediately to die; ſuch as were known to have had their hand in the blood of the Engliſh, or that had been ſhed by their means: the reſt that were found only Acceſſories to the late miſchiefs, had their lives ſpared, but were ſent into other parts of the World, to try the difference between the Friendſhip of their Neighbours here, and their ſervice with other Maſters elſewhere.

Thoſe who had been always either peaceable and true to the Engliſh, never intermedling in the quarrel, as *Wannalancet* the *Sagamore* of *Pennicook*, and ſome others were quietly diſmiſſed to their own places.

Beſides theſe that were ſurpriſed at the time aforeſaid; there were ſeveral others, who had been the chief Actors, that were taken up and down in thoſe Woods beyond *Merrimack*, and ſo were delivered up to Juſtice; As *John Monoco*, *Sagamore Sam*, old *Jethro*, with ſome others, as hath been already mentioned, yet young *Jethro* brought in forty at one time. It was a ſpecial favour from God, ſo to order it, that the *Indians* aforeſaid were ſo ſurprized; for had they continued in their former Rebellion, and had taken the opportunity to have joined with the Eaſtern *Indians*, as ſome of them did a few Months before, they would in all likelihood have utterly deſtroyed all the Plantations of the Engliſh beyond *Paſcataqua River*; as manifeſtly appears by the miſchief which

which was lately done by the means of a few, that by too much Connivence of ſome in thoſe parts, that entertained a better opinion of them than it ſeems they deſerved. For whereas mention formerly was made of a ſmall party of *Indians*, that on the third of *May* in this preſent year had murdered one *Thomas Kembal* of *Bradford*, and carried away his Wife and five Children Captive; yet two or three of the Actors did upon what conſideration is not known, return the woman and children again within ſix weeks; and becauſe of their voluntary returning of them, were dealt more favourably withal, being only put into Priſon at *Dover* for a time; yet poſſibly conceiving that a Priſon was but a preparation for a worſe evil, they took an opportunity (two of the chief Actors in the foreſaid miſchief, called the one *Simond*, the other *Andrew*) to convey themſelves out of the place of reſtraint, and afterwards going amongſt the *Amonoſcoggan* and *Kennibeck Indians*, have joyned with them in thoſe bloody and cruel depredations lately made in thoſe parts, which follow in order next to be related.

Some little colour or pretence of injury was alleadged before thoſe Eaſtern *Indians* began their outrage both in the former, as well as in the preſent year. The chief Actor or rather the beginner of all the aforeſaid miſchiefs Eaſtward, is one *Squando*, the *Sagamore* of *Saco Indians*, whoſe *Squaw*, as is ſaid, was abuſed by a rude and indiſcreet act of ſome Engliſh Seamen in the laſt Summer, 1675, who either overſet the *Canoo* wherein the ſaid *Squaw* with her Child were ſwimming in a River thereabouts, or elſe to try whether the Children of the *Indians* as they had heard, could ſwim as naturally as any other creatures, wittingly caſt her Child into the water; but the *Squaw* immediately diving into the water after it, fetcht it up from the bottom of the River: yet it ſo falling out that within a while after the ſaid Child dyed, (which it might have done if no ſuch affront had been offered) the ſaid *Squando* Father of the Child hath been ſo provoked thereat, that he hath ever ſince ſet himſelf to do all the miſchief he can to the Engliſh in thoſe parts, and was never as yet ſince that time truly willing to be reconciled: Although he is ſaid to have ſent home ſome that were taken Captive the laſt year. Surely if their hearts had not been ſecretly filled with malice and Revenge before, they might have obtained ſatisfaction for the wrong done at an eaſier Rate. More probable it is, that this was only an occaſion to vent the miſchief they formerly had conceived in their hearts.

There is an injury of an higher nature, mentioned as the ground of their quarrel with us, who live about *Pemmaquid*, and *Kennibeck*, which hapned the laſt Spring, *viz.* one *Laughton* with another perſon

or

or more, who having obtained under the hand of Major *Waldern* a Warrant to ſeize any *Indians* Eaſtward, that had been guilty of any Murder or ſpoil done to the Engliſh in thoſe parts; did moſt perfidiouſly and wickedly entice ſome of the *Indians* about *Cape Sables*, who never had been in the leaſt manner guilty of any injury done to the Engliſh, aboard their Veſſel, or elſe ſome other way, and then carried them away to ſell them for ſlaves; which the *Indians* in thoſe parts look upon as an injury done to themſelves, and have alledged it to the Inhabitants of *Pemmaquid*, as one of the principal grounds of their preſent quarrel: The thing alleadged is too true as to matter of Fact, and the perſons that did it, were lately committed to priſon in order to their further tryal. Yet all thoſe *Indians* do, or may know full well, that they who did them that wrong, were lyable to due puniſhment, (or elſe their quarrel might be accounted juſt, and they conſidered as *Indians*, muſt have the more allowance) if they could be found; nor ever were any countenanced amongſt us, that had done them any kind of injury, nor did thoſe that take upon them the revenging of the injury, know that they were Inhabitants of this Country that did the wrong; nor was then ever any orderly complaint made thereof: but this cannot excuſe their perfidiouſneſs and cruelty. Some other pretences were alleadged by the ſaid *Indians* that yet do bear no proportion to the mention of a wrong or injury, *viz.* becauſe our Traders were forbidden to ſell any Ammunition to any *Indians* whatſoever, which thoſe *Indians* ſay they cannot live without; yet ſeeing themſelves, as well as the Weſtward *Indians* have ſo ill improved, that which they had before, there was little Reaſon why they ſhould quarrel with us for ſelling no more.

Further alſo it is affirmed by ſome perſons worthy of credit, that for divers years paſt have lived in thoſe parts, that the *Indians* thereabouts need not have wanted powder or ſhot, only they wanted ſomething wherewith to cloak their malitious and barbarous practices of late committed againſt us; but there being different opinions about this point, we ſhall leave it at the preſent.

But theſe being premiſed in Reference to the pretended ground, or occaſion of the quarrel; It remains that the effects thereof be now related.

Before the War with *Philip* was well ended to the Southward, there was a freſh Alarm ſounded again to the Eaſtward; for on the Eleventh of *Auguſt*, 1676. The very day before *Philip*'s heart (that had harboured ſo many miſchievous and treacherous devices againſt the Engliſh) was by one of his own Company ſhot through, did a party of *Indians* begin their

outrages

outrages at *Caſco* in a moſt perfidious and treacherous manner, killing and carrying away Captive to the number of thirty perſons, and burning their houſes, amongſt whom was the Family of one *Anthony Bracket* Inhabitant of *Caſco*, who was thought to have been killed; but he himſelf with his Wife and one of his Five Children carried away Captive with a *Negro*, did happily make an eſcape from their bloody and deceitful hands, in *November* next enſuing.

The manner how *Anthony Bracket* and his Wife made their eſcape was very remarkable, and therefore judged worthy to be inſerted here, although out of due place. The *Indians* that led them Captive, having brought them to the Northſide of *Caſco Bay*, News was brought to the ſaid *Indians* of the ſurprizal of *Arrowſick* houſe in *Kennibeck*, withal the ſtore therein, which did ſo rejoyce them, that they made all haſte to ſhare in the good things there to be had. Thus eager to be gone they promiſed *Bracket* and his Wife that they ſhould have alſo a ſhare therein if they would make haſte after them, bringing along a burthen alotted to each of them: The woman having a little before obſerved an old Burchin *Canoo* lying by the water-ſide, hoped it was an opportunity Providence offered for their eſcape; whereupon ſhe firſt prudently asked of the *Indians* to let the *Negro* their own ſervant (at the ſame time carried Captive by them) help them to carry their burthens, which was granted: then ſhe begged of them a piece or two of meat, which was not denyed them. Thus being furniſhed with help and proviſion, the *Indians* leaving them thus behind to come after with their ſeveral burthens and a young Child; They could not but look upon it as a *Nutus Divinus*, to bid them ſhift for themſelves: the woman alſo found a needle and thread in the houſe, where they ſtayd on that ſide of the Bay, with which having mended the *Canoo*, they ventured to get away; which proſperouſly ſucceeded: for in that old *Canoo* they croſſed a vvater eight or nine miles broad, and vvhen they came on the South ſide of the Bay, they might have been in as much danger of other *Indians*, that had lately been about *Black-point*, and had taken it; but they vvere nevvly gone: So things on all ſides thus concurring to help forvvard their deliverance, they came ſafely to the *Fat* at *Black-point*, vvhere alſo by ſpecial Providence they met vvith a Veſſel bound for *Paſcataqua*, that came into that Harbor, but a fevv hours before they came thither, by vvhich means they arrived ſafe in *Paſcataqua* River, ſoon after, all vvhich Circumſtances are very vvorthy to be noted.

Amongſt thoſe *Indians* that ſeized this *Brackets* Family, the chief vvas one *Simond*, that nevvly or a little before had eſcaped out of *Dover*

Priſon,

Priſon, where he was not over carefully lookt to: he had had his hand in the murther of ſundry Engliſh, as himſelf confeſſed; not miſſing ſave one in the which he had diſcharged his Gun upon; but becauſe he came in voluntarily, bringing in a woman and five Children of the Engliſh, who had been carried Captive a little before, it was queſtioned, whether his laſt act of ſubmiſſion might not ballance his former tranſgreſſion, and therefore was he committed to that, not ſo ſecure a Priſon, till his Caſe might be further conſidered of. It is ſaid that coming to that *Brackets* Houſe over night he pulled forth a counterfeited paſs, under the hands of ſome publick Officers, or men intruſted with that Service, making ſhew of all Friendſhip; but in the morning or ſoon after, he pulled off his Vizour of a friend, and diſcovered what he was, yet granting Life to this perſon and his Family, that did not, or could not reſiſt, which he denyed to ſome of the Neighbors not far off, who were many of them killed by this blood Villain and his Partners.

There are ſome circumſtances in the aſſault of *Anthony Brackets* houſe very conſiderable, which, becauſe it was the firſt outrage committed by the *Indians* in this their ſecond inſurrection, 1676, are worthy of a more particular remembring.

This *Indian* forementioned called *Simond*, after he had eſcaped out of Priſon at *Dover*, came up to *Caſco*, and either in the end of *July*, or beginning of *Auguſt*, acquainted himſelf with this *Anthony Bracket*, and oft frequented his houſe: Upon the Ninth of *Auguſt*, ſome of the *Indians* having killed a Cow of his, the *Indian Simond* coming to his Houſe promiſed to bring the *Indians* to him that killed his Cow. In the mean time they of the place ſent two men to *Major Walderns* at *Dover*, to complain of this injury done by the *Indians*; but before their return, very early in the morning on the Eleventh of *Auguſt*, *Simond* with a party of *Indians* came to *Anthony Bracket*'s houſe, and told him there were the *Indians* that killed his Cow; but as ſoon as they had ſaid, That the *Indians* went further into his Houſe and took hold of all the Guns they could ſee, *Anthony Bracket* asked what was the meaning of that; *Simond* preſently replyed, that ſo it muſt be, asking him withal, whither he had rather ſerve the *Indians*, or be ſlain by them: *Anthony Bracket* anſwered, that if the Caſe were ſo, he would rather chuſe to ſerve them, than be killed by them: *Simond* replyed, that then they muſt be bound, which preſently was done. The ſaid *Bracket*, his Wife, and a Negro were all bound by the *Indians*; his Wife had a Brother, who offering to reſiſt was killed forthwith, the reſt with five Children were led away Priſoners.

Two

Two hours after one *Pike* that lived not far off, but knowing nothing of all this, went up in a *Canoo* toward one *Robert Corbins* houſe, where he found one *Humphry Durham*, and *Benjamin Atwel* at work about their *Hay*; after a little ſtay, he left them, intending to go up higher with his *Canoo*, but as ſoon as he was a little paſt, he heard *Guns ſhot off*; which made him with another man he had with him, preſently *return back*; before he came beyond *Corbins* houſe he ſaw an *Engliſh boy* running with all haſte, which made him fear ſome miſchief was in hand, and preſently a *Volley of ſhot* came againſt them, but the *Bullets* flying over their *heads*, did them no hurt: preſently *Simond Indian* appeared, and called them to *come a ſhore*; but they liked not his *Courteſy*, but preſently turning their *Canoo* into the ſtream, got out of the reach of their Guns, haſting down to his *own houſe* with all ſpeed; when he came near to *his houſe*, he called to the *People* to make *haſt away*, towards the *Garriſon houſe*, and bid the reſt *look to themſelves*, and *fire* upon the Indians, that were coming againſt them: In the mean while, *the Indians* paſſing from *Anthony Brackets* to *Corbins*, killed *Corbin himſelf* with *Humphry Durham*, and *Benjamin Atwel* forementioned: Then paſſing on to *other houſes*, carryed away ſome of them *Captive*, and *killed* others. At one of the next houſes, the *woman and Children* got off into the *water* by a *Canoo*; but one *James Roſe*, his *wife and Children* were carried away: *Corbins wife* with one of the other mens *wives*; and the *Children* of *another* of them, they likewiſe carried away.

In another ſide of the Town, three were as they were going to *reap at Anthony Brackets*, paſſing from an houſe where they left their *Canoo*, met with by *J. Mount-joy* and one *Wakely*, to whom they told what had hapned, ſoon after they heard two Guns ſhot off, whereby it ſeems *two men* were *killed*, wherefore coming back toward *Thomas Brackets* where they had left their *Canoo*, they ſaw him *ſhot down* by the Indians; one of the *three* not ſo well able *to run* hid himſelf in the buſhes in *hope to make his eſcape* more conveniently afterwards, which accordingly he did; but in the mean time he ſaw the Indians carry away *Thomas Brackets wife and Children*; Soon after the *three men* aforeſaid got ſafe to Mr. *Mount-joys* Garriſon, but not truſting to the Security of that Garriſon, they ſoon after repayred to an *Iſland* in the Bay, called *James Andrews Iſland*.

One *George Lewes* and *his wife* tarried all this time in their houſe till the next day, when they had opportunity to get ſafe to the *Iſland* aforeſaid, together with the *two men* that were now returned from *Major Waldern*; whither they had been ſent, but *too late*, to make complaint

of the Indians that had *counterfeited his pass* to travail into those parts, and had done this mischief.

The day after one *George Felt* suspecting the worst by reason of a *smoak* he saw on the *opposite side of the Town*, took his *wife and Children* into a *Canoo* to see what the *matter was*, but when he came near a *point of Land* not far off, he found several of his *Neighbours goods*, which made him conclude their Owners *were killed*, which was a *sufficient warning* to him likewise to *fly for his Life*, which he did to the *same Island*. After they had sundry of them escaped thither, some of them remembred that they had *left powder* behind them in *one or two places*; whereupon they resolved to venture a party of them in the night, partly to *prevent the Indians* from having any Advantage thereof, and partly for their *own defence if occasion should be*; Their Attempt succeeded well, for they brought away a *barrel of powder* from one *Willes his house*, and likewise a *considerable quantity* out of *a Chest* in a *Store-house*, where the Indians had been *ransacking*, and had taken things out of the *other end* of the *Chest*, yet *overlooked the Powder*: In this surprizal of the *Plantation* in *Casco Bays*, called *Falmouth*, there were *thirty four persons killed and carried Captive*.

That this was not a casual Attempt, but a *designed plot*, it will appear, in that just about the very same time, the Indians at *Kennibeck*, made the *like Insurrection*, whereby it is concluded, either that the Indians which escaped from *Dover*, stirred them up thereunto, or else that the said Indians finding them in a *disposition tending that way*, by reason of some injuries done them that dwell farther *Northward*, they offered their Service to *help forward* the design.

It is to be noted here, that the Indians about *Kennibeck* were perswaded to continue their former *amity* with the *English* notwithstanding the report of *Philips rising that year before*, and the *Outrages* committed the *last Autumne*, and *winter* following, yet which is more, they had lately *renewed their League* with the *English* in those parts, although they had often complained to those of *Pemmaquid*, of the injury they suffered, in the withholding from them the *Trade of powder*, and *shot*, without which they said they cannot *subsist*, and for want of which it is alleaged by themselves, that some of them *perished* the last *winter*.

But the *Quarrel* of late *fallen out* betwixt the *English*, and the Indians about *Kennebeck*, and *Eastward* thereof, being a matter of *great Consequence*; For the farther satisfaction of the Reader, it shall in what follows, be more *particularly described*; it being the duty of every one

that

that *publisht things* of this nature, to do the *right of an Historian* to all sorts of *persons*, any way concerned in what is *made publick*; The Information was received from a *prudent person*, an *Eye* and *Ear witness* of all that hapned amongst the said Indians, both the *former* and present *year*, and one that was of more *publick Concernment* in *those Transactions* then some others, therefore may the more heed be given thereto. Mention is already made of what hapned in *September*, 1675. to the Company belonging to *a Sloop, and two other Boats*, that went up *Casco Bay* to gather Indian Corn; Upon that Accident it is said, divers Indians on the *East side* of *Kennibeck River* repaired to their *Fort* at *Totonnock*, (a place up higher into the Country beyond *Kennibeck* and *Shipscot River*) where was an *English trading house*. And the Indians *Eastward* of the said *River*, had as yet done no harm to any of the *English*, yet did *Captain Sylvanus Davis* Agent for *Major Clarke*, and *Captain Lake* of *Boston*, upon these *Overtures* think it fit to fetch down the *Powder* and *Shot* with other goods from the said *Trading house*, telling the Indians, by the Messenger sent up, he would have them come down and live below *in that River*, to take off *jealousies*; and that he would then supply them with what was needful.

But the *Messenger* told them, in Case they would not come down, and deliver up their Arms, the *English* would kill them. *He that sendeth a Messenger by the hand of a Fool* saith Solomon, *cutteth off the feet and drinketh dammage*; This Message was delivered by him that went, as was *confessed* by himself, who put it into his mouth, or whether it was *devized* in his *own heart*, it concerns not us now to enquire, but the *dammage* that side of the Country hath been made to *drink thereby*, is not easy to *recount*; for upon this *Threatning Message* the Indians *forsook* their *Fort* presently, and went *Eastward*, and sent abroad to *Johns River* and to the *Sea side* to get all the Indians they could together to come up *Penobscot River*.

A *Gentleman* who at that time lived at *Pemmaquid*, a kind of *Superintendent* over the Affairs of that place, considering the *sad state* things were running into, laboured to *obtain a Parly* with the said Indians, or some of them, which after much trouble and cost, he did accomplish. But in the mean time, such was the *violence* used by some *refractory English* in those parts, that they could scarce be *restrained* from *offering violence* to the *persons* he *sent up* as *Messengers*, or others that *lived quietly amongst them*, and did also as violently *set themselves* to oppose himself, or any others that acted with more *moderation*, then the rest, *protesting against them*, as those who *for gain* supplyed the Indians with

Powder and Shot, and said they would kill any Indian they met; others at *Monbiggan* offered *five pound* for every Indian that should be brought, yet would not these persons that were *so violent* against the Indians in their discourse, be perswaded upon any Terms, then, or afterward, to *go out to fight against* the *Indians* in an *orderly way*; as appeared both by their Security in not *standing better upon their guard*, and by their *sudden flight* afterward, running away like a *Flock of Sheep*, at the *barking* of any *little dog*. Things being in this *posture*, what could be expected but a *present warr* with the Indians, although as it seems, there were few or none like to be found, willing to undertake it, or fit to manage it in those parts. However, the person aforesaid, understanding, the *General Court at Boston* had appointed a *Counsel of Warr* at *Kennibeck*, applyed himself to them, laying before them the *desperate estate* things were falling into; whereupon they issued out warrants to restrain all manner of persons from medling with the Indians without farther order, which within few days should be had. In the mean time the *Sachems* of the Indians meet at *Pemmaquid*; where, after many complaints made of the *hard dealing* of the English in *Kennibeck River*, they came to *Tearms of Peace*, promising to keep true Friendship with the *English*; and to hinder the *Amonescoggan* Indians from medling with the English, if by any means they could, and also to *return peaceably* in the Spring of the year. This *Gentleman* aforesaid, having a long time waited to go to *Boston*; was willing to take the opportunity of the *present Winter*, hoping things were now pretty well setled in those parts *betwixt the Indians and the English*; found soon after, that he was *cited thither* to Answer some Complaints (though made without ground) for selling *Powder and Shot* to the *Indians* contrary to Order.

But those false opinions being easily blown away by his own appearance at *Boston*, and so having dispatched his occasions there, he returned before the winter was over to *Pemmaquid*, where hearing of a *Vessel* that intended to take *Indians* in those parts, and carry them away to a *market*, the which he had many *strong Reasons* to *believe* (it being no hard matter to surprize many such, that suspecting by *fraud*, would easily be enticed *aboard a Vessel* to trade, or may be to *drink Liquor*) sent both the *Master and Company*, if they had any such intent to forbear, seeing those *Indians* were at *peace with us*, and likewise to the *Indians*, to *inform them* of such a Vessel, and to *beware thereof*, but yet it seems the *Master and Company* took several *Indians Eastward*, who were also at peace with us, and to our *great sorrow* shipt them *aboard for a market*.

The winter being now over, the forenamed *Agent of Pemmaquid*, went to a meeting of the Indians *Eastward*, to *perswade them* of the Countreys *willingness* to continue a *peace with them*; They seemed very joyful thereat, and in the Spring brought some *Presents* to *confirm the Peace*, and to that end also delivered up an *English Captive Boy* to those of *Kennibeck*. But when the Summer came on, that the said Indians had liberty to *travel up and down* the Country to visit their Friends as they used to do; they missed those their *Friends* who had in the winter *perfidiously been carryed away*, and as is related, they fell into a Rage against the *English*, making Complaint thereof to the *said Agent*, *Mr. Earthy*, *Mr. Richard Oliver*, and others: They were told, means should be used for bringing them *back again* which had been so *Transported*; those to whom the Complaint was made did scarce believe it to be true, as not having *heard thereof* from any *other hand*, and probably hoping none, especially after solemn warning, would deal so *perfidiously with Heathens*, to lay such a *stumbling block* before them.

The Indians being *certain* of the *thing done*, could not be *easily pacified*, being likewise increased against the *English*, for *withholding* the Trade of *Powder and Shot*, the *last winter*, saying, they were *frighted from their Corn* the last year by the People about *Kennibeck*, so as many of them *dyed* in the following *winter* for want of *Powder and Shot*, wherewith to *kill Venison and Foul*; Adding withall, that if the English were their Friends as they pretended, they would not suffer them to dye, for want thereof: However, the *said Agent* making the best he could of a *bad Cause*, used all means to *pacifie the Complaynents*, and to that end promised them, that if they could meet with any of the *Amonoscoggan* Indians (who it seems all along had the *bitterest Enmity* against the *English*) he would give them a meeting to *treat in order to a peace*, *Major Waldern* having already concluded a *Peace* with the *Pascataqua* & *Casco Indians*, & by that means, if they could conclude the like peace with the *Amonoscoggan* men, (that could not yet be found) there would be a *general peace* with all the Indians *Eastward* of *Pascataqua*, which the Indians that were present at this discourse, seemed *very joyful at*: yet still by one *fatal Accident* or other, *jealousies* still seemed to *increase in their minds*, or else the *former injuries* began to *boyl a fresh* in their Spirits, as not being easily *digested*, what ever had been *said*, or *done* to *allay* the *offensiveness thereof*. Soon after comes a *Post* from *Tarratinock*, to desire him to repair thither according to his promise, where they told him he should meet with *Squando*, and divers *Amonoscoggan Sachems*, and that *Mug* was sent *Post* to fetch the said *Squando*:

This Gentleman mindful of his promiſe, went with the *Poſt* to *Kennibeck*, and finding *Captain Lake* at his houſe in *Arowſick*; It was judged meet that *Captain Sylueſter Davis* ſhould go along with him, with inſtructions from the *Counſel* then ſitting in *Kennibeck*, how to carry on their *Treaty*. After they had gon part of their way towards *Totonnock*, they came to an Engliſh houſe, where they were told, what great *jealouſies of deceit* in the Indians were upon their Spirits, from what they had heard of *Muggs* and *Tarumkin*, an *Amonoſcoggan Sachem*; going farther to a place called *Kedonn Cook*, they met with indians, who were very *ſhy of telling* them any thing, which added to the *former Intimation*, greatly *increaſed their fears*: but being reſolved of their voyage, they went onward ſtill in *their way*, yet falling ſhort of the place, *on purpoſe* that they might *finiſh their buſineſs* with them the *next day*: when they came to their *Fort*, they were firſt *ſaluted with a Volley of Shot*, than brought into a *Wigwam* where their *Sachems* were: *Madockawando* ſate as chief, who now ſtiles himſelf their *Miniſter*: Being ſet in a Councel, they made *Aſſiminaſqua* their ſpeaker; whoſe *Adopted Son* was the ſaid *Madochewando*: He told them it was not *their Cuſtome*, if any came as *Meſſengers* to treat with them, *to ſeize* upon *their perſons*, as ſometimes the *Mohawks* did with ſuch as had been ſent to them: *Captain Davis* and the other *Gentleman* told them, therein they *dealt like men*: Anſwer was preſently made them; you did *otherwiſe by our men*, when *fourteen* came to *treat* with you; and ſet a *Guard over them*, and took away *their Guns*: And not only ſo, but a ſecond time you *required our Guns*, and demanded us to *come down* unto you, or elſe you would kill us, which was the Cauſe of our *leaving* both *our Fort*, and *our Corn* to our great loſs.

It was without doubt no ſmall trouble to their minds, in a Treaty with theſe *Pagans*, *Hac dies poſuiſſe, & non potuiſſe refelli*: Yet to put the *beſt Conſtruction* might be, on ſuch *Irregular actions*, which could not well be *juſtified*, They told them, the perſons who had ſo done, were not within the Limits of their Government, and therefore though they could not *call them* to an *account* for *ſo acting*, yet they did *utterly diſallow* thereof: Adding farther, as ſoon as we underſtood thereof, we ſent for you to *Pemmaquid*, and Treated you kindly, and kept you, as you know, from the violence of the Engliſh; The Indians *Replyed*, we do but inform you, and will Treat further in the *Afternoon*. But when the *Afternoon came*, our *Two Meſſengers* told them, their buſineſs was to Treat with the *Amonoſcoggan Sachems*, and that they were ſorry, *Squando* was not there: Then having confirmed their Peace with

thoſe

those *Eastward Indians*, they intreated the *Amonoscoggan* men to speak, who likewise urged *Tarumkin*, the chief *Amonoscoggan Sachem* to speak, who after *some pauze*, said he had been to the *Westward*, where he had found many Indians *unwilling for Peace*: but says he, I found *three Sachems* (whom he named, though those he spake to knew them not) willing to *have peace*; And for my own part, I am *willing for peace*, and gave them *his hand* with Protestation of his continuing in Friendship, so did *seven or eight more* of the *Amonoscoggan* men, whose Names they took, of whom *Mug* and *Robin Hoods* Son were two. After this *Madochewando* asked them what they should do for Powder and Shot, when they had eaten up their Indian Corn, what they should do for the *Winter*, for their hunting Voyages: asking withall, whether they would have them dy, or leave their Country, and go all over to the *French*. Our Messengers told him, they would do what they could with the *Governor*, some might be *allowed them* for *Necessity*: He said they had waited long already, and therefore would have them now say yea, or nay, whether they should have *powder as formerly, or not*? Our Messengers then *Replyed*, your selves say, many of the *Western* Indians would not have Peace, And therefore if we sell you *powder*, and you give it to the *Western* men, what do we but cut our own Throats? Adding further, it is not in our power *without leave*, if you should *wait ten years* more, to let you have *powder*; at which words they seemed much to be offended.

But yet the next day they resolved to go down with them & to speak with the Western men, thereby, if it might be, to stop their farther proceeding.

So going down with them *the next day*, they met with some Indians who had got *strong Liquor*, with whom they fell a drinking: Our Messengers *stayed at two places* for them, and finding that still they tarryed behinde, not knowing what *farther to do*, they went home, it being the *sixth day* of the week. But the next night save one, news came to *Kennibeck*, that the Indians had killed divers English in *Casco*, although it was not yet known at *Pemmaquid*. Upon this News *Capt. Davis* set out one Sentinal the next night; the rest, (such was *their Security*) went all else to bed, and in the morning, were all like *Laish* surprized: thus might it be said, *Invadunt Ædem somno (si non) vinoq; sepultam*. The particulars of the *surprizing of* Kennibeck, and *Arowsick house* are thus related by such as were acquainted therewith.

Upon the *thirteenth of August*, 1676. several Indians repaired in the

Evening

Evening to the house of one Mr. *Hammond*, an ancient inhabitant, and Trader with the Indians up *Kennibeck River*, His *daughter* or a *maid* that was *servant* in the house, either *naturally afraid* of the *Natives*, or else upon something *she observed* in their *Countenances*, or *Carriage*, manifested so *much fear*, as made her *run out of the house* to hide her self in some *place abroad*; The Indians perceiving it, the more to *dissemble their Treachery*, ran after her, and brought her into the house, telling her (although they could not perswade her so to believe) that there was no Reason to be *afraid* of them; presently after more of the *Barbarous Villains* coming into the house, she grew *more afraid then before*, being now more strongly perswaded that they came on *purpose* to *kill or surprize* those in the Family, whereupon she suddenly made *an escape* out of the house, and presently passed into a *Field* of *Indian Corn*, whereby she might the better avoid the *danger of any pursuer*, and so ran cross over the land that night *ten* or *twelve miles*, to give them notice that lived at *Shipscot River*: it is said that after she got out, she heard *a noyze* in the house, as if they were *fighting or scuffling within doors*; but she did not count it wisdom to go back to see what the *matter was*, knowing enough before of their *Villanys*, how well soever *her Mrs.* (that was *more versed* in the Trade of the Indians) might think of them. Those of *Shipscot* taking this *warning* escaped away as soon as they could, leaving their *Cattle and their dwellings* as a *Prey* to the Indians. What befel *Master Hammond and his Family* is not yet certainly known: Reports past up and down, that some who came down the River afterwards, saw *some of the dead stripped* upon the *Bank* of the *River*, which makes us fear the worst, concerning all the rest; for certainly the *whole Family sixteen* in *Number*, were all at that time either *killed*, or carryed away Captive, none save the maid aforesaid, being known to make any other escape, to *inform* their *Friends* like *Jobs Messengers*, what befel the rest of the Family.

The Indians having in this manner *surprized Mr. Hammonds house*, they passed down the River the same night; but going by *another house*, medled not with the people, only *turned their Canoes a drift*, that they might not finde means afterwards to *escape themselves*, or *help others* so to do; possibly their chief aim being at *Arowsick house*, they would not, for fear of being discovered, make any Attempt upon any place near by: wherefore *August the fourteenth* very early in the *morning*, having in the *night*, or before *break of day* passed over on to the *Island* called *Arowsick*, several of them undiscovered lay hid under the aforesaid house behinde a *great Rock* near adjoyning, till the *Sentinel*

Sentinel was gone off from his place, (who went off it ſeems ſooner than was Reaſon, conſidering the danger) when preſently ſome *Indians followed him in*, at the *Fort gate*, (as ſome report) while others of them *immediately ſeized* the *Port holes thereof*, and *ſhot down* all they ſaw paſſing up and down *within the Walls*, and ſo in a little time became *Maſters of the Fort*, and all that was within it : *Captain Lake* (joynt Owner with *Major Clark* of the whole *Iſland*) hearing the *buſſle* that was *below*, betwixt the *Indians* and thoſe that belonged to the place, was *ſtrangely ſurprized*, yet *himſelf with Captain Sylvanus Davis* and *two more*, underſtanding that the *Indians* had ſeized the *Fort*, and *killed* divers of the *Engliſh*, apprehending it *bootleſs*, or rather *heartleſs* to ſtay, as not being able to *ſtand upon their guard*, or make any *reſiſtance*, made a ſhift to find ſome paſſage out at a *back door*, whereby they eſcaped to the *water-ſide*, where they found a *Canoo*, into which they all entered and made away toward another *Iſland* near by : this was not done ſo ſecretly but the *Indians diſcerned them* befors they were gone farr ; *four of them* therefore haſted after thoſe that had eſcaped, in another *Canoo*, and coming within *ſhot*, diſcharged their *Guns* upon them, whereby *Sylvanus Davis* was ſorely *wounded* ; yet making haſt, as generally they uſe to do that *fly for their lives*, *timor addidit alas*, they got a ſhore before the *Indians overtook them*. *It* is ſaid they were *ſtrangely diſpirited*, or elſe they might eaſily have defended themſelves againſt *their purſuers* : But when once mens *hearts are ſunk with fear* and *diſcouragement*, upon a ſudden *ſurprizal*, it is hard to *buoy* them up, to make any competent *reſiſtance* : *Capt. Davis* being ſadly wounded, could neither truſt to his *legs to fly*, nor yet make uſe of his *hands to fight*, yet was *ſtrangely preſerved* ; Providence *directing* him to go into *the Cleft of a Rock* hard by the place, where he firſt landed ; The *Indians* by the *glittering of the Sun beams* in their *Eyes* as they came *a ſhore*, did not diſcern him ; ſo as lying hid under the Covert of the *hand of Providence*, for two days, he at laſt *crawled* a little about the *water ſide*, till he found a *Canoo*, whereby he *eſcaped away* with his Life, much adoe. The other two men, were *better foot men*, and parting from *Captain Lake* made their eſcape *ten or a dozen mile*, to the further end of the *Iſland*, and ſo eſcaped from the *Indians*, till they found means to get off ; *poor Captain Lake*, that a few *hours before*, ſlept quietly in *his Manſion houſe*, ſurrounded with a ſtrong *Fortification*, defended with *many Souldiers*, is now forced to *fly away* with *none to attend him*. And as the *Awful* hand of *Divine Providence* ordered things, was as ſome ſay, *pur-*

ſued by ſuch Indians as were *meer ſtrangers* to the place, that knew not *the Maſters from the man*, by one of whom he was *ſhot down*, as is ſuppoſed, ſoon after his coming aſhore, *Lieut. Davis* heard *two Guns*, by which was thought, and ſoon after was known ſo to be by an Indian which ſince hath confeſſed to *Captain Davis* that he ſhot him that day *Arowſick* was taken, which he intended not to have done, but that he *held up his Piſtol* againſt him, whereas if he had but *asked quarter*, he ſhould have had his Life. *Captain Lake* was ſlain at that time, although many hopes were for ſome time maintained, that he was *taken alive*, and kept with *other Captives*, amongſt the Indians; And 'tis ſaid the Indians of thoſe parts did not intend to kill him, if they could have helped it: But it was known, that *his hat* was ſeen upon an *Indians head* not long after, which made his Friends conclude what had befallen the *Owner*, *that good man*, who might *Emphatically* be ſo termed in *diſtinction* from them that may truly be called *juſt men*, and no more: For it ſeems according to the *juſt Agreement* betwixt himſelf and his *part-owner* of *Arowſick Iſland*, it was not *his turn* this year to have been *upon the place*, but ſuch was *his goodneſs*, that he yielded to the deſire of his *Friend* and *partner*, as in his *room* and *ſtead* to take upon himſelf *that ſervice* in this *time of danger*, it is hoped his goodneſs in *future time* will not be forgotten by ſuch as were any way concerned therein, or had *Advantage thereby*.

This Iſland (called *Arowſick* from an Indian *ſo named*, that formerly poſſeſſed it, and of whom it was purchaſed by one Mr. *Richards* who ſold it to *Captain Lake* and *Major Clark*) lyes up *ten miles* within the *mouth of Kennibeck River*; it is ſome *miles in length*, and containeth many *thouſand Acres* of very *good Land*; where *meadow and arable ground* are in a good *proportion* well *ſuited together*; within the Fort aforeſaid were many *convenient buildings* for ſeveral *Offices*, as well for *wares* and *Trading*, as habitation: *ſix ſeveral Edifices* are ſaid to have been *there erected*. The *Warehouſe* at that time was well *furniſhed* with all *ſorts of goods*; beſides a *Mill* and other *Accommodations*, and dwellings within a *mile of the Fort* and *Manſion houſe*; ſome of whoſe Inhabitants hardly made their *eſcape*, upon the *firſt ſurprizal of the Fort*.

All which conſidered, the loſs that befel the *Proprietours* at the *ſurprizal of this Iſland* ſeems to be *very great*, valued at *many thouſands*: but thoſe that were the Owners with others of *late times*, have found in their *own Experience*, what *Solomon* ſaid of old, *There is a Time to get, and a Time to looſe, a Time to keep, and a Time to caſt away; a Time to*

break

break down, as well as *a Time to build up*. The persons *killed* and taken at *Kennibeck*, both at Mr. *Hammonds*, and at *Arowsick*, are said to be *fifty three*.

Upon the Report of this *sad disaster*, all the Plantations of the *English* in those parts were soon after left, and forsaken by degrees. All the rest of the Inhabitants of *Kennibeck River*, *Shipscot River*, *Sagade-hock*, *Damanicottee*, fearing to be served in the same kind, fled to the Islands of *Cape-bonawagan* and *Damorils Cove*.

On the *second day at night a Post* was sent to *Pemmaquid* to inform them of what had hapned, who being but *eight* or *ten men*, were minded to go to the Island called *Monhiggon*, having secured the *best of their goods*, but the wind taking them short, they were forced to turn into *Damorils Cove*, where they found Mr. *Wiswal*, and Mr. *Colicot*, there they laboured *two days* to settle a *Garrison*; But partly by the *mutinousness* of the people, and partly by the *want of provision* nothing could be done to *secure the Island*, so that it was presently deserted: From thence they went to *Monhiggon*, resolving there to tarry till they heard from *Boston*, from whence Mr. *Colicot*, and Mr. *Wiswel* promised to do their *utmost endeavour* to send help. There they setled *three Guards*, and appointed *five and twenty to watch every night*, not knowing but that the Indians might come every hour. But continuing there a *Fort-night*, and finding no relief like to come; and seeing all the Country *burned round about*, (For after they had gotten all that could be saved from *Pemmaquid*, they saw all the other Islands, *Windgins*, *Corbins sound*, *New-Harbour*, *Pemmaquid* all on fire in two hours time) then considering what was best to be done, they found no *Boats* could be *sent to sea* for fear of *weakning the Island*, and that most of those that were upon the Island, were *Strangers*, *Coasters*, and such as came from the *Mayne*, and were ready to *be gone* upon every occasion, they laid an *Imbargoe* for one weeks time; after which a Letter was received from Major *Clark*, desiring their *Assistance* for enquiring after *Capt. Lake if alive*, saying what could be had at *Kennibeck* &c. but intimating nothing of any help like to come, besides those that *brought the Letter* told them, it was *in vain to expect* any help from *Boston*. It being questioned there, what they had to do with those parts, upon which the Inhabitants considered, that if they should tarry there, and spend all their *Provision*, and neither *be able* to go *to Sea*, nor yet *to live*, or *be safe a shore* for want of help, it were better for them to remove, while they had something *left to live upon*, and seek imployment else where; so by Consent they *resolved forthwith* to *Transport themselves*, and what they

had ſaved of their goods to *ſome place of Security*, ſo they took the *firſt opportunity to ſet ſayle*, ſome for *Paſcataqua*, ſome for *Boſton*, and ſome for *Salem*, at one of which *three places* they all *ſafely arrived*.

Having thus eſcaped at firſt as *Lot out of Sodom*, but not counting themſelves ſafe in that *Zoar*, where for a little while they made ſhift to *hide their heads*, till they might eſcape to ſome *further place*, there waiting for *better times*, when they may with *peace and quietneſs* return to their former habitations, or *ſeek ſome other* elſe where.

When the *foreſaid Exploits* were done by the Indians in and about *Caſco Bay*, ſeveral of the *Engliſh* removed to *Jewels Iſland*, where they hoped to be *more ſecure* from the Indians, but their barbarous Enemy finding ſo *little Reſiſtance* made againſt them *on the main Land*, a conſiderable party of them came *with their Canoos* to deſtroy that *Iſland* alſo, about *three weeks* after the aforementioned miſchiefs.

There was a fortifyed houſe upon the *ſaid Iſland*, where the Engliſh that either kept upon the Iſland, or repayred thither, hoped to have *ſecured themſelves*. But *at that time* when the Indians aſſaulted the place, many of the *Engliſh were abſent*, few left in *the Garriſon*, but *women and Children*: ſome were gone to *other places* to fetch *Indian Corn*, others were *in a Boat* imployed about *Fiſh*, amongſt whom was one *Richard Pots* with *two more*; The wife of the ſaid *Pots* was *waſhing by the water ſide*, where ſhe was *ſurprized* with her *Children*, and *carryed away* in ſight of her *husband*, who was not a *little diſtreſſed* with that *ſad ſpectacle*, but was *not able* to afford *any Relief* either to *wife or Children*, although *one of the Children* eſpying his *Father in his boat*, ran into the *water*, calling out *for help*, but an Indian *ran after him* to catch him up; the *poor man* in a great *Agony* being within *half ſhot*, was about to have *fired upon the Indian*, but then fearing he might *wound his Child* which the *Villain* had laid *hold of*, he forbore, rather ſuffering him to be *carryed away alive*, then be expoſed to ſo *manifeſt danger of his Life*, or *Limbs*, by ſhooting at the Indian.

It is ſaid that ſome of the Indians were *killed by them* in the *Garriſon*: They ſpeak of *a Lad* that at one ſhot *killed two or three* of them, ſome *Guns* were found afterwards under the *Fort*, which were ſuppoſed to have belonged to ſome of the *Indians that were killed*. Some that were *abroad* when the *Fort* was aſſaulted, *deſperately broke in* through the *Indians*, whereby at the laſt, many *of the people were preſerved*: ſome *flying away* from *Jewels Iſland* in a *Canoo* toward *Richmond Iſland*, met with a *Ketch*, to which they made known the diſtreſs the People were in, who thereupon *went to the place*, and took in all the People they found there,

there, and carryed *them off* to a place of *more ſafety*. Yet were there ſeveral perſons ſaid to be *killed and carryed away* at that time, *viz. three men*, who were known to be killed, *two women and two Children*, that are ſuppoſed to be yet alive, though in the *Enemies power*.

From thence they went to *Spurwinks*, where they *aſſaulted* one place or more, and killed *one man*, wounded *another*, and carryed another *away Captive*: Amongſt them that were in danger of ſurprizal, one that *could not run*, hid himſelf in a *garden of Cabbages* ſo as he was not found, yet was very *near them*, for he over heard *ſeveral queſtions*, they asked him they took; by which means he was the better enabled afterward to prevent the danger *two more* were coming into; for the *poor Fellow* that they had taken, told them, that one *Ghendal* with another man *were to come that way* by and by; whereupon this man that had hid himſelf, meeting that *Ghendal* and the other *man*, gave them notice of the danger, whereby they were *delivered* out of the *ſnare*, for that time; not long after one of them, *viz. Mr. Ghendal* fell into their hands as ſhall be declared afterwards. Within a while after, or much about that ſame time, another *ſad Accident* befel *ſix or ſeven* of them that belonged to *Caſco*. For upon the *twenty third of September* ſome perſons that belonged to *a Sloop*, and *a Schallop*, that were *preſſed into the Service* (one Reaſon of which was to prevent their ſtragling, they being perſons that belonged to thoſe parts about *Caſco*) were over deſirous to ſave ſome of their *Proviſion*, to which end they firſt made their Addreſs to *Captain Halborne*, (under whom they were *ordered to ſerve*) deſiring they might *be releaſed*; the *Captain* told them he could not do it, but deſired them to *have patience* for a while, they told him, that *they muſt* and *would go*, elſe their Families muſt *ſtarve at home*: The *Captain* told them further of the danger, and bid them not ſtir at their peril: However they would go, and ſoon after went to *Mountjoyes Iſland* to fetch ſheep, where they landed *ſeven men*; but the Indians preſently ſet upon them, they preſently betook themſelves to the *Ruines of a ſtone houſe*, where they defended themſelves as long as they could; but at laſt they were all *deſtroyed* either with *ſtones caſt in upon them*, or elſe with the *Enemies ſhot*, except one, who, though at the firſt it was hoped his *wounds* were not *mortal*, yet ſoon after *dyed thereof*; amongſt theſe was one *George Felt* much lamented, who had been more active then any man in thoſe parts againſt the Indians, but at the laſt he loſt *his own Life* among them, in this *too deſperate* an Adventure.

The Indians growing more bold by theſe Attempts in thoſe remote places, drew down nearet towards *Paſcataqua*, for not long after a party of

of them came upon *Gape Nidduck*, where they *killed and carryed away* all the Inhabitants of a few ſcattering houſes, to the number of *ſeven in all*, and ſuch was their *Salvage Cruelty exerciſed* in this place, as is not uſually heard of, for having *daſhed out the brains of a poor woman that gave ſuck*, they *nayled the young Child* to the *dead body of its mother*, which was found ſucking in that *rueful manner*, when the People came to the place. The day before a man and his wife were killed by them at *Wells*, and two men more ſoon after. On the *twelfth of October* following, near *an hundred* of the Indians made an Aſſault upon *Black point*, all the Inhabitants being gathered into *one fortifyed place* upon that point, which a few hands might have defended againſt all the Indians on that *ſide of the Country*. But as it ſeems, one called *Mugg* was the Leader of the Indians; one that had from a *Child* been well acquainted with the *Engliſh*, and had lived ſome years in Engliſh Families, who though a *cunning Fellow*, and had prevailed much in his Attempts, yet at this time ſhewed more Courteſy to the *Engliſh*, then according to former Outrages could be expected from any of thoſe *barbarous miſcreants*; and was willing to make offer of *a Treaty* to Mr. *Joſſelin*, chief of the Garriſon, to whom the ſaid *Mugg* promiſed liberty for all that were there, to depart with there goods upon the *ſurrender of the place*: The ſaid *Joſſelin* reports, that when he came back from his treating with *Mugg*, that all the People were fled away out of the Garriſon, having carryed away their goods by water before his return, inſomuch that having none but his *Houſhold ſervants* to ſtand by him, he was capable to make no Reſiſtance, and ſo *ſurrendred*.

When People have once *been frighted* with Reports and Senſe of danger, they are ready to *fly away* like a *Hart* before the *Hunter* or his *Hounds*; one of the Inhabitants of the place affirmed he ſaw *an hundred and fifty* Indians, which was more by *an hundred* than any body elſe ever ſaw near the Fort. But when a place is *deſigned to Ruine*, every thing they take in hand ſhall tend that way.

The loſs of *Black point* was accompanyed with another ſad Accident, that *fell out* about the ſame time at *Richmonds Iſland*. For young *Mr. Fryer* with ſome others at *Paſcataqua*, to whom it ſeemed grievous that the Indians ſhould make *all that Spoyle* in every place in thoſe *farther Plantations*, ventured upon the great Importunity of *M. Ghendal* with a *Ketch* to try what they could ſave of ſuch things that the Indians had left. But things were ſo ordered, that before they had *laden their Ketch*, coming too near the *Stage head*, they preſently found themſelves in danger of a *ſurprizal*, for part of their Company being a

ſhore

ſhore, were *ſeized* by the Indians, or in *danger thereof*, whom they were not willing to leave behinde; and beſides the wind blowing in hard upon them, they could not *get out of the Harbour*, but were forced to abide the danger of an Aſſault. The Indians getting many of them into the *ſtage head*, annoyed them ſo faſt with their *ſhot*, that not a man of them was able to look *above deck*, but he was in danger of being *ſhot down*; amongſt the reſt *Mr. James Fryer* venturing too much *in view* of the Enemy, received *a wound* in his *knee*, which *appeared* not *dangerous* at the firſt, but for want of *better looking to*, then could be found amongſt that *black Regiment*, into whoſe hands he ſoon after fell, *It proved Mortal unto him*, within a *few days after*; he being by a *ſtrange Accident* brought home to his *Fathers houſe* at the great *Iſland* in *Paſcataqua*. *Mr. Fryer* being thus wounded, the reſt of the Company defended themſelves for a while with much Courage and Reſolution, till they were brought to the ſad choice of *falling into the hands* of one of theſe three bad Maſters, the Fire, the water, or the *Barbarous Heathen*, to whom at laſt they thought it beſt to yield, in hope of liberty afterwards, at leaſt of lengthning out their lives a little longer, for the Indians had *manned* out a *Canoo* with ſeveral hands to *cut their Cable*, and others ſtood ready within the defence of the ſtage head to fire upon any one that ſtirred in the *Ketch*, by which means the Veſſel (after the Cable was cut) ſoon drove a ſhore; and then was it threatned to be preſently burned, if they did not all yeild, to which they all at laſt conſented.

The Indians how barbarous ſoever in their own nature, yet civilly intreated their Priſoners, and upon farther diſcourſe ſent one or two of them to *Paſcataqua*, to give them there an opportunity to *Ranſome* their Friends. The perſons ſent home to procure a Ranſome, were to return with ſuch a quantity of goods as the Indians had deſired, by ſuch a preciſe time: but they that brought the things for their Ranſome, coming a day or two before the time, when thoſe that ſent them were gone up the River at *Black point*, and not returned, Some other Indians waiting for ſuch an opportunity *ſeized the goods*, at leaſt that part which they moſt deſired, and through miſtake, killing one of the three men that brought them, diſmiſſed the other two, without return of the Priſoners as was expected.

As to what hapned afterward, we are yet much in the dark, and for the preſent can write but by gueſs: for within a few days after the return of *Mr. Ghendal*, and the other man that went to carry the Ranſome, before *November* 1. *Mugg* himſelf came to *Paſcataqua*,

taqua, bringing *Mr. James Fryer*, who ſoon after dyed of his wound, one of the Priſoners along with him complaining that *without his knowledge* ſome of the Indians had ſeized what was ſent for the *Ranſome* of the reſt, promiſing upon *his Faith*, that he would make good his word for the ſending home all the Priſoners, and offered alſo in the Name of the other Indians, to confirm a *new Peace* with the *Engliſh* for the future: The *Major General* of the *Maſſachuſets Colony* was then at *Paſcataqua*, but not willing to *Tranſact* a matter of that nature and moment by his *ſole Authority*, ordered the ſaid *Mugg* (ſuppoſed to be the *chief Leader* of the Indians) to be carryed down to *Boſton* to *the Governour and Council there*, to conclude the buſineſs, with whom he ſoon after agreed upon a *firm Peace* with the *Engliſh* of the *Maſſachuſets* in the Name of *Madockawando*, the chief of all the Indians *in the Eaſtern parts* about *Penobſcot*, engaging alſo to remain himſelf, as *hoſtage* aboard the *Veſſel* (in which he was ſent home from *Boſton November the 21 ſt. following*) until the Priſoners (which are ſaid to be *fifty or ſixty* that they have ſtill in their hands) be ſent home, and the reſt of the *Articles* performed. The Iſſue of which we as yet *wait to hear* in Gods good time: this *12th. of December* following, 1676. when they there have made an end of the reckoning, 'tis hoped we may have our right again.

There are two *principal Actors* among the Indians that have all along promoted theſe deſignes amongſt them, one named *Squando*, *Sagamore of Saco*, and the forementioned *Madocawando*, the chief Commander of the Indians *Eaſtward* about *Penobſcot*, who are ſaid to be, by them that know them, a *ſtrange kinde* of *moralized Salvages*. *Grave and Serious* in their Speech and Carriage, and not without ſome ſhew of a *kind of Religion*, which no doubt but they have learned from *the Prince of darkneſs*, (by the help of ſome papiſt in thoſe parts) that can *Transform himſelf into an Angel of Light*; under that ſhape, the better to carry on the deſignes of his Kingdome. *It* is ſaid alſo, they pretend to have *received ſome Viſions* and *Revelations*, by which they have been commanded to *worſhip the great God*, and not to *work on the Lords day*. We know where that *Fountain* hath its Riſe, that ſendeth forth at the ſame place *ſweet and bitter waters*, and from whence their hearts are inſpired, that joyn bleſſing of God, with curſing and killing his Servants.

It is reported by ſome that came lately from thoſe parts, that the Indians there do as yet refuſe to have any peace with the *Engliſh*, and will not as yet return any of our Captive Friends, till God ſpeak to the foreſaid *Enthuſiaſts*, that are *their Leaders*, that they ſhould *no longer* make *warr with us*, and the like.

But

But not to trouble our selves farther with those *Ministers of Satan*, or those that are acted by the *Angels of the bottomless pit*, (who possibly since their *delusions* are but *two fold more* the *Children of Hell* then they *were before*) we know better how to understand the minde of the *great God of Heaven and Earth* then to depend on such *lying Oracles*.

That God who hath at present *turned their hearts* to *hate his People*, and *deal subtilly* with his *Servants*, we hope in his time, will either *turn the stream*, and cause them to deal *friendly* and *sincerely* with his People as *heretofore*, or give us an opportunity to *destroy them*.

In the next place it remains, that some account be given of *our Forces* under *Captain Hathorne*, and of their *several expeditions* into the *Eastern parts*, since the middle of *September last*; first up towards *Casco*, by the *Sea-side*, then afterward *through the woods* directly *Northward*, toward *Ossapy*, and *Pigwauchet*, in hope to have found the Enemy there at their *head Quarters*.

Upon the first Report of those *Devastations* and *Spoyls* that had been made by *Fire and Sword* in those *Eastern Plantations*, It was judged necessary to send some Forces that way to put a stop unto the *current* of those *Outrages*, before the *Remainders* of the *Southern* Indians could have opportunity to joyn with them: To that end about an *hundred and thirty English*, with *forty Indians* were dispatched away into those parts, under the Command of *Captain William Hathorne*, *Captain Syl*, and *Captain Hunting*, who were to joyne with such as could be raised in those parts, under *Major Waldern*, and *Captain Frost*: After they had surprized the Indians that flocked into those parts, (as was Related before) which was done upon *September the 6th.* 1676. *Captain Hathorne* who was *Commander in chief*, marched the Forces by the *Sea-side* towards *Casco*; For at that time they were upon some demurre, whether to March directly toward *Ossapy*, and *Pigwauchet*, where the *head Quarters* of the Enemy was supposed to be, or else to march directly toward *Casco Bay*, where they heard *parties* of the Enemy were daily *spoyling the Plantations* of the English; At the last it was judged *most Expedient*, to try if they could not meet with some parties of the Enemy amongst those *Plantations* near the Sea-side, by that means at last to prevent them from doing more mischief if they could not finde an opportunity to *fall upon* some of them, and *destroy them*: But their time was not yet come, nor were all the *Desolations* as yet *accomplished*, which God had a purpose to *bring about* by their means. For notwithstanding there was a *sufficient Force* to have suppressed all the numbers of the Enemy, if they had been many more

than they were; yet being *emboldened* and *grown ſubtile* by their *former ſucceſſes*, they had ſo diſperſed themſelves all about the woods in thoſe parts, that when our Forces were in one place, they would be in another, and ſo did much miſchief thereabouts, while our Souldiers were *out after them*: For after they had by ſeveral ſteps in *ten days* time gotten to *Caſco*, from *Newchewannick* (about the *eighth of September*) they marched to *Wells*, and from *Wells* to *Winter Harbour*, and ſo from thence to *Black point* they paſſed by water, and then arrived at *Caſco Bay*, about the *twentieth of September*, yet about that very time, were ſeveral of the Engliſh *cut off* at *Mount-joyes Iſland*, and that in *ſight of our Forces*, when they were not able to come at them, for want of *Boats*, the *Iſland* lying *two Leagues* off in the *Bay*; (this hapned the *twenty third* of the ſame month, as was ſaid before, and within *two days* after another party of the Enemy were doing miſchief at *Wells*, and *Cape Nidduck*, and yet eſcaped away when they had done.

Nor could *our Forces* in all *their Expedition* meet with any of them, but *two*; one of which ſoon after he was taken, was let go, by the *Treachery* or *Careleſsneſs* of them that held him. For when our Forces were come within a *few miles* of the higher ſide of *Caſco Bay*, ſome of our *Natick Indian ſcouts* going in Company with the Indians under *Blind Will*, (a *Sagamore of Paſcataqua*, who went in Company with eight of his men, ſuppoſed to be *good Pilots* for the places more *Eaſtward*) met with ſome of the Enemy, and laid hold of *a couple* of them; *Juſtice* was done upon *one of them*, the other, although he was led by two of *Blind Wills Indians*, they made a ſhift to *let go*, who eſcaping away, got over a River, and gave notice to the Indians who were on the other ſide, & were heard but a little before *threſhing in a Barn* that belonged to one *Anthony Bracket*, (whom they had lately ſurprized.) Another diſappointment our Forces met withal about the ſame time, for when *Captain Hathorn* was up at *Caſco Bay* with his Souldiers, he never could come up with the Indians, either through want of Skill in them that were his *Scouts*, or rather want of Faithfulneſs in one that *ſhould have been his guide*, who had got his living by *Trading with the Indians*, therefore ſeemed unwilling to have the *Brood of them* deſtroyed as was known afterwards, and by that means *a party* of the Enemy eſcaped the hands of *our Souldiers*: Yet it pleaſed God at one time to bring the *Forlorne of our Forces* upon a party of the Enemy, who eſpying the *Engliſh*, preſently *fled away* into the woods, like ſo many *wild Dear*; yet one of them, *viz.* that *J. Sampſon* who had been of the Company, that killed *Robinſon* the year before, was by the

ſpecial

ſpecial hand of Divine Juſtice, ſuffered to fall, by ſome of *our Forces*: He was a *very luſty, ſtout man*, and one that was armed with *ſeveral ſorts of Weapons*, but there is no *weapon* ſhall defend them, whom death hath a *Commiſſion* to deſtroy: There is no *Ranſome in that War*: The reſt of the Indians that were ſcattered about *Caſco Bay*, having diſcovered our Forces, made their eſcape: But, we hope their time is ſhort, and that God will find ſome way to cut off the *bloody* and *deceitful Enemies* of his People, and not ſuffer them to *live out half their dayes*.

But by one ſuch Accident or other, *our Souldiers* could not meet with any of them that had done all the miſchief about thoſe parts. And while our Forces lay about *Caſco Bay*; a ſmall party of the Enemy came down upon the Borders of the Town of *Wells*, where they *lay in Ambuſh* near a Garriſon houſe, at one end of the Town, and ſhot down Mr. *James Gouge* from his horſe, *September the twenty fourth*, being *Lords day*, as he was going home from *the Metting*; and then *knocked down his wife*, giving her ſeveral wounds with their Hatchets about the head, of which ſhe dyed within three days after.

The next day *September the twenty fifth*, the ſame party being not above *ſeven* in number went toward *York*, and ſurprized *Cape Nidduck* in a barbarous manner, killing moſt of the poor people belonging thereunto: Some of their Neighbours hearing of the Guns, came to *their Reſcue*: The Indians being on the further ſide of a River, dared them to come over and *fight with them man to man*: uſing ſeveral Reproachful Tearms to them, making a Shot at them alſo, which ſome of the Company not being able to bear, did *very reſolutely adventure* through the River after them; but they were not willing to *try the valour* of the *Engliſh*; when they perceived they *found a way* to paſs over the *River upon them*, but returned back towards *Wells*; where they killed another, one *George Farrow*, *September the twenty ſeventh*, as he was too careleſsly venturing to his houſe without any Company: Theſe things hapned while our Forces were at *Caſco*, where they tarryed ſeven or eight days. And hearing of theſe Outrages committed in ſome of thoſe places which they left behind them; and not being able to meet with any of them in the place were they were, they returned back toward *Wells*, and *York*; but the Indians were eſcaped away into the woods after their Companions, before they came there: Our Souldiers having thus ſpent much time and pains in a fruitleſs Expedition toward *Caſco*, they reſolved to venture *another march* after them, up towards *Oſſapy*, ſuppoſing they might by that time be drawn homewards toward

their *Winter Quarters*; or else, that they might destroy what they had left behind them, to *prevent their harbouring there* for the future: But it seemed good to him, who by his Sovereign Power and Infinite wisdom ordereth all Events and purposes (wherein his people or others are concerned) to *disappoint all endeavours* used at that time for the suppressing of the Enemy, or putting any stop to their wonted Successes: For soon after our Forces were returned back from *Casco*, news was brought of the *surprizal* of *Black point*, on the *twelfth of October*, as was mentioned before; which notwithstanding, It was judged more adviseable to venture and proceed on with the Expedition toward *Ossapy*, (whether it was supposed by this time, the greatest number of them were retired) rather then to return back again to recover *Black point*, where was nothing to be expected but an empty Fort, and some deserted houses, which it seems the Indians had forsaken by that time.

And besides that other *Forces* were about the same time ordered to *repair* thither, sufficient for the repairing & securing of the place, with what else was left remaining from the hands of the *Enemy*; And likewise several Souldiers were ordered to Garrison the Towns thereabouts, to prevent them from making any further Assault upon them. However, they were so far emboldned by the taking of *black point*, and the *Ketch* at *Richmond Island* with several Prisoners also which were surprized at the same time; that a party of them came the very next week after, toward *Wells*, hoping to attain that, and all the Towns, and places else betwixt *Casco Bay* and *Pascataqua*, as they had done *Black point*. For a party of them under *Mugg* their *chief Leader*, brought Mr. *Ghendal* along with them to *Wells*, where they *summoned* the *first Garrison* as the Towns end. To facilitate the business, they sent the said *Ghendal* as their *Agent*, or messenger to move them to *surrender*, without hazarding an onset; but the people were not so dispondent, to yield up the place upon so slight an occasion; which when the *Enemy* discerned, they soon drew off, after they had done some little mischief to the Inhabitants: For first they killed *Isaack Littlefield* not far from the garrison: it is said, they would willingly have had him *yield himself prisoner*, but he refusing, they shot him down yet they were so civil, as to suffer his Friends to *fetch away his body*, without offering any further act of Inhumanity to it, or *hostility* toward them that *fetcht it off*. An *old man* called *Cross*, was killed by them likewise about the same time, and another, *Joseph Bigford* by name, belonging to the Garrison, was sorely wounded at that time, so as he dyed soon after: *Thirteen* head of *neat Cattle* were also killed by them, out of which they only for haste, took the *Tongues*, leaving the bodies of all the *rest*

whole

whole to the *Owners*, unless it were *the Leg* of one of them, which was also taken away.

This was all the mischief was done by them, after the taking of *Black point*: The Inhabitants of *Winter Harbour*, near adjoyning thereto, being alarmed with the surprizal of the other place; fled away with *their goods*, for a time; till they heard the Enemies were removed farther *Eastward*, and then it was said, they returned to their place again; In this posture have things in those places remained ever since, in those *Eastern Plantations* betwixt *Pascataqua* and *Casco Bay*.

But our Forces under the Command of *Captain Hathorne*, and *Captain Syl*, having at the last obtained all things necessary for a *Winter march* into the woods, did upon the *first of November* following, set forth toward *Ossipy*, where, after *four days march* of very *difficult way*, over many Rivers, not easy to pass at that time of the year, they arrived; but found *never an Indian*, either there, or in the way, as they marched along: The Indians belonging to those parts, had not many years before hired some *English Traues* to build them a *Fort*, for their security against the *Mohawks*, which was built *very strong* for that purpose *fourteen Foot* high with *Flankers* at each corner. But at this time the Souldiers *intending to disappoint them of their refuge*, made *fuel thereof*, which at that time was very *needful for our People*, who had marched many miles *throughout deep Snow* in a very *cold Season*, when they could hardly keep themselves from *freezing* as they passed along, so early in the *Winter*: None of the Enemy being to be found there in their *strongest Fort*, It was not counted worth the while for all the Company to *march any farther*: Whereforce a small party being sent up *eighteen* or *twenty miles* farther *Northward* among the woods, where as they passed along they met with many *vast Lakes*, (supposed to be the Cause of the *sharpness of the cold*, in that side of the Country) making the place *scarce habitable* for any besides those *Salvages* that use to *hunt thereabouts*, for *Moose* in the *Winter*, and *Beaver* in the *Summer*, (a sort of Creatures, whose Skins are of more Account than all their bodies.) But at this time it is supposed they were all gone lower toward the Sea side, *to share the Spoyls* of the English Plantations, lately surprized by them; which is all the *Reward* they have met withal, who in former years, for the sake of a little Lucre by Traffick with them, have run themselves there into the very *Jaws of destruction*, either by Irregular dealing with them; or by their too much confidence in their *deceitful Friendship*.

November the ninth, our Forces having spent *nine days* in this Service, returned safe to *Newechewannick*, from whence they set forth at the first, having

having run more *hazard of their Limbs*, by the *sharpneſs of the Froſt*, than of *their lives* by an *Aſſault* from their Enemies.

There was great probability that the deſigne might have had ſome good Effect, if *Mugg* a *chief Leader* of them, did not much abuſe thoſe he fled unto, with a *proffer of Peace*; for he told them that there were about an hundred of them about *Oſſapy*, not many days before: But it becomes us to look beyond *ſecond Cauſes*, in Events of this nature; and conclude, that *God had raiſed up* theſe Barbarous Enemies to bring *a like Chaſtiſement* upon the Engliſh in this *ſide of the Country*, with that which others had endured elſewhere, in the end of the former, and beginning of this preſent year.

Whereas mention was formerly made of a *Peace concluded* at *Boſton* betwixt the *Governour and Council* of the *Maſſachuſets*, and *Mugg* an *Eaſtward Indian*, in the name of *Madockawando* chief *Sagamore* of all the Indians about *Pemmaquid* and *Penobſcot*; which ſaid *Mugg*, was ſent from *Boſton*, *November the* 21*ſt*. with *two Veſſels*, to receive the *Priſoners* there detained by the Indians, and alſo to ſee the *Ratification* of the *ſeveral Articles* of the ſaid peace concluded upon. Which *Articles* for the better ſatisfaction of thoſe that have not been acquainted with them, are thought fit here to be *Inſerted*.

Boſton, November the 6th. 1676.

Covenants and Agreements made and concluded by, and between the GOVERNOUR *and* COUNCIL *of the* Maſſachuſets Colony *in* New-England *of the one part: and* Mugg *Indian, in the Name and behalf of* Madockawando, *and* Chebartina *Sachems of* Penobſcot, *on the other part. Witneſſeth*

Impr. WHereas the ſaid *Mugg* hath been ſent & imployed by the ſaid *Sachems* upon a *Treaty* with the ſaid *GOVERNOUR* and *COUNCIL* relating to a Concluſion of Peace, doth hereby Covenant and engage for himſelf, and in behalf of the *ſaid Sachemo*, that from henceforth they will ceaſe all *Acts of Hoſtility*, and hold an *entire* and *firm Union*, and *Peace* with all the *Engliſh* of the *Colonyes* in *New-England*.

2*ly*. That immediately upon the ſaid *Muggs Return*, the *ſaid Sachems* ſhall deliver up unto ſuch *Engliſh man*, or *men*, as ſhall by order of

of the ſaid *Governour* and *Council*, be ſent with him, all ſuch *Engliſh Captives*, *Veſſels*, and *Goods* whatſoever, *Arms* and *great Artillery* belonging to the *Engliſh*, as are in their *Cuſtody*, or under their *power*, as have been taken from them during the time of the *late Hoſtility*.

3*ly*. That they will uſe their uttermoſt endeavour with all poſſible ſpeed to procure pay; wherewith to make full ſatisfaction unto the *Engliſh* for all ſuch *Injuries*, *Loſſes*, and *Damages*, as they have ſuſtained by them, in their *houſing Cattle*, or other *Eſtate*, during the time of the *late Hoſtility*; or elſe to pay ſuch a number of Beaver *Skins*, yearly, in order thereunto, as ſhall be agreed on between the *ſaid Sachems*, and ſuch perſon or perſons as ſhall be ſent unto them from the ſaid *Governour* and *Council* for the *Ratification* hereof, to be paid at ſuch time and place as ſhall be then agreed upon.

4*ly*. That upon Conſideration of the Engliſh furniſhing of them with *Powder* and *Amunition* for their *neceſſary Supplyes* and *maintenance*, they do *Covenant* and *promiſe* not to Trade for, or buy any *Powder*, *or Amunition*, but of ſuch perſons as ſhall from time to time be *deputed* by the *Governour* for that end.

5*ly*. That if it do appear that *Walter Gendal* and the men ſent with him in the *Veſſel* from *Paſcataqua* (with Goods from *Mr. Fryer* for the *Redemption of the Captives* according to Agreement) or any of them are ſurprized and ſlain by any of their *Indians*, or any others whom they can bring under their power, that they ſhall forthwith Execute ſuch *Murtherer*, or *Murtherers*, or otherwiſe deliver them up into the hands of the Engliſh.

6*ly*. That if the *Amonos Coggin*, or any other Indians in the *Eaſtern parts*, that are in *Hoſtility* with the Engliſh, ſhall not fully Conſent unto theſe *Covenants* and *Agreements*, but ſhall perſiſt in *Acts of Hoſtility* againſt the Engliſh, that then the *ſaid Sachems* ſhall, and will hold all ſuch Indians to be their Enemies, and take up *Arms* againſt them, and engage them as ſuch.

Laſt.

Laſtly. The ſaid *Mugg* as a *Pledge* and *Aſſurance* of his own *Fidelity*, and that he is *impowred* by the *ſaid Sachems* for the end aforeſaid, and for the performance of the *aforementioned Agreements*, doth *freely* and *willingly depoſite himſelf*, and his *Life* in the hands of the Engliſh; to remain with them as a *Hoſtage* until the *ſaid Captives, goods* and Veſſels ſhall be delivered up.

Boſton, Novemb. 13. 1676. The mark of
Signed in the Preſence of *Mugg W* Indian

John Earthy.
Richard Oliver.
Iſaack Addington.

The ſaid *Mugg* lifting up his hand to *Heaven* for the true *performance* thereof, eſteemed among them, a *ſtrong Obligation* to perform what they promiſe.

Things were ſo ordered by the *good Providence of God*, that the ſaid *Veſſels* arrived ſafely at *Penobſcot* in the beginning of the next month, where they found the ſaid *Madockawando*, who was ready to confirm and make good the *Articles of the Peace* concluded at *Boſton* by his *Agent* in his Name; And was willing alſo to deliver all *the Priſoners* that were then in *his Power*, or under his *Command*, which were but *two*, who were taken in the Veſſel at *Richmonds Iſland*, the *twelfth of October* laſt. The ſaid *Mugg* likewiſe being ſenſible of the *Obligation* he lay under, to make good his word, did *venture to go up* himſelf to another *Plantation* of the Indians, where was ſuppoſed ſome more of the *Engliſh Priſoners* were, to ſee whether he could obtain *their Releaſe*, as alſo to *perſwade with the reſt* of the Indians thereabouts to joyn in the *confirmation of the Peace*; It appeared to the perſons belonging to the Veſſels, that the ſaid *Mugg* went with ſome *Reluctancy*, as fearing the Indians he was going amongſt, would either *kill him*, or *keep him Priſoner*; To which end, he ordered the *Commanders* belonging to the *Veſſels* to tarry for him, about *three days*, or *four at the moſt*, aſſuring them, that if he did not return by that time, they might *certainly conclude* that either *his Life or Liberty* was taken from him; however the Veſſels tarried *about* or near *a week* beyond the time *limited*, in expectation

tion of his coming; But after *ſo long ſtay*, they neither ſeeing, nor hearing from him, were ready to *fear the worſt*, *viz.* that his Country men had *made him ſure* from having more to do with the *Engliſh*. Whereupon for fear of being *ſhut up* by the *ſharpneſs* of the *Winter* from returning themſelves, they took the opportunity of the next *fair wind* of ſetting Sayle for *Boſton*, (only turning in to *Pemmaquid* to ſee if they could hear any *farther News* there) where they arrived with *ſuch* Priſoners, as were freely delivered by *Madockawando*, the *twenty fifth of December following*, *Anno*, 1676. Amongſt which Priſoners, beſides the two forementioned, who were found at *Penobſcot*, there was a third, by a more *remarkable providence* then ordinary, added unto them, *Mr. Thomas Cobbet*, Son of that *Reverend* and *worthy Miniſter* of the *Goſpel*, *Mr. Thomas Cobbet*, (*Paſtor* of the Church at *Ipſwitch*, a Town within the *Maſſachuſets Juriſdiction*) who had all the time of his *Sons Captivity* together with his friends *wreſtled with God* in their *daily* Prayers for his *Releaſe*, and accordingly he was with the more *joy received* by his friends, as an *Anſwer* and *Return* of their *prayers*. The ſaid young man had lived with *Mr. Fryer*, *Merchant* of *Portsmouth* for ſome years before, and had been oft at Sea with *Mr. James Fryer* the eldeſt Son of the ſaid *Merchant*, and who had after much Experience of *his Faithfulneſs*, *dexterity*, and *Courage* on all ſuch Accompts, borne him ſo much Reſpect, that when he was urged by his Father to go along with *Mr. Ghendal*, as was ſaid before, he would not venture unleſs his Friend *Thomas Cobbet* would go along with him; *the which Service* he only for his Friends ſake accepted, which proved a *fatal Adventure* to *Mr. James Fryer*, and might have done to the other alſo, had not God otherwiſe *diſpoſed of him*, having, as is hoped, *more Service* for him in the *Land of the living*. Amongſt all the priſoners at that time taken, the ſaid *Thomas Cobbet* ſeemed to have had the *hardeſt portion*: For beſides the *deſperate dangers* that he eſcaped, before he was taken, *Firſt*, by a *bullet*, ſhot through his *Waſt-Coat*, *Secondly*, by a *drunken Indian*, who had a *knife* at his *Throat* to *cut it*, when his *hands* were *bound*; when the Indians came to *ſhare the priſoners* amongſt them, he fell into the hands of one of the *ruggeddeſt Fellows*, by whom within a few days after *his ſurpriſal*, he was carryed firſt from *Black point*, to *Shipſcot River* in the *Ketch*, which the Indians made them to Sayl for them, into the *ſaid River*, from thence he was forced *to travel* with his *Pateroon Four or five miles* overland to *Damaniſcottee*, where he was compelled *to row or paddle* in a *Canoo* about *fifty five miles* farther to *Penobſcot*, and there *taking leave* of all his Engliſh Friends and

acquaintance, at leaſt for the *Winter*, he was put to *paddle a Canoo* up *fifty* or *ſixty miles* farther *Eaſtward*, to an *Iſland* called *Mount Deſart*, where his *Pateroon* uſed to keep his *winter ſtation*, and to appoint his *hunting Voyages*; and in that *Deſart-like* Condition was the *poor young man* forced to continue *nine weeks* in the Service of a *Salvage miſcreant*; who ſometimes would *Tyrannize* over him, becauſe he could not underſtand *his Language*, and for want thereof, might occaſion him to *miſs of his Game*, or the like. What ever ſickneſs he was obnoxious unto, by *change of dyet*, or other account, he could expect no other *allowance* than the *Wigwam* will afford: If *Joſeph* be in the Priſon, ſo long as *God is with him* there, he ſhall be preſerved, and in due time remembred.

After the end of the *nine weeks*, the Indian whom he was to ſerve, had ſpent all his *powder*, whereupon on the ſudden he took up *a Reſolution* to ſend his *young man* down to *Penobſcot* to *Mounſier Caſteen* to procure more *powder* to kill *Mooſe and Dear*, which it ſeems is all their way of living at *Mount Deſart*; The Indians was certainly *over ruled by Divine providence* in ſending *his Captive* down thither, for a few days before, as it ſeems, after the Indians in that place, had been *powawing together*, he told him, that there were *two Engliſh Veſſels* then come into *Pemmaquid*, or *Penobſcot*, which proved ſo indeed: yet was it *not minded* by him ſurely, when he ſent *his Captive* thither for *powder*, for it proved the means of *his eſcape*; which his *Pateroon* might eaſily have *conjectured*, if it had not been hid from him. As ſoon as he Arrived at *Penobſcot*, he met with *Mugg*, who preſently ſaluted him by the Name of Mr. *Cobbet*, and taking him by the hand, told him, he had been at his *Fathers houſe*, (which was *November the firſt or ſecond* before, as he paſſed through *Ipſwitch* to *Boſton*) and had promiſed to ſend him home, ſo ſoon as he returned. *Madockawando* taking notice of what *Mugg* was ſpeaking that way, although he were willing that he ſhould be releaſed according to Agreement, (his *Pateroon* being one of this *Sagamores Subjects*, though during the *Hunting Voyage* of the *winter*, he lived at ſuch a diſtance from him) began to *demand ſomething* for *ſatisfaction*, in a way of *Ranſome*, not underſtanding before that his Father was *a great Preachman*, as they uſe to call it: Reply was made to him, that he ſhould have ſomething in *lieu of a Ranſome*, *viz.* a *fine Coat*, which they had for him *aboard the Veſſel*; the which the *Sagamore* deſired to ſee, before he would *abſolutely grant* his Releaſe: but upon ſight of the *ſaid Coat*, he ſeemed very well ſatisfied, and gave him *free liberty to return* home. Whilſt this Mr. *Thomas Cobbet* was a

Priſoner

Priſoner at *Mount Deſart* going along with the Indians *to hunt*, in an extream *cold day*; he was ſo overcome with the *ſharpneſs thereof*, that all his *Senſes* were ſuddenly *benummed*, ſo as he *fell down* upon the *Snow*, not being able to ſtir hand or foot, and had without doubt there *periſhed* in a little time, but that the Indians he was going along with, *miſſing him*, preſently *ran about* the *woods* to *ſeek him*, and when they found him, they were either *ſo pitiful* to him, or *ſo careful* of their own good, as not to *caſt away* a likely *young man*, from whom they expected either *much ſervice*, or a *good Ranſome*, for want of a *little Care*, and pains to preſerve his life; wherefore, taking him upon *their ſhoulders*, they carryed him into the *next Wigwam*, ſo as he ſoon after *revived*, and *came to himſelf* again, without any farther miſchief.

At another time, the *Salvage Villain* whoſe Priſoner he was, ſo long as he had *ſtrong Liquor*, for *five days together* was *ſo drunk*, that he was like a *furious mad Beaſt*, ſo as none durſt come near him, his *Squaws* he almoſt *brained* in one of thoſe *drunken fits*.

The ſaid *Thomas* was forced to get out of his ſight into the *woods* all that night, for fear of being miſchiefed by him. Where making a fire he kept himſelf alive: The *Squaws* being by Gods ſpecial Providence ſo *inclined to pity*, that they came to him daily *with Victuals*, by which means he was at that time alſo preſerved: All which put together, makes his Deliverance *the more Remarkable, as an Anſwer of prayer*.

As for the *Reſt of the Priſoners*, (which are ſaid to be *fifty* or *ſixty*) They were left with them who firſt *ſurprized them* at *Kennibeck*, and *Shipſcot River*: The *Women* are imployed it ſeems to *ſow* and *make Garments* for them; They having *plundered* much *Engliſh goods* at *Arowſick*. They are ſo much *elevated* with their *late ſucceſſes*, in ſpoyling ſo many of the *Engliſh habitations*, that they ſeem not *very ready to hearken* to *Tearms of peace*, as their *Sagamore Madockawando* doth deſire: Nor are the *Engliſh* able to come *near them* with any of their Forces *this Winter ſeaſon*, in regard both of *the Remoteneſs of the place*, and *ſharpneſs of the Cold*, which uſes to be *extream in thoſe parts*: How their hearts may *be inclined* in the following year, or what the *Engliſh* may be enabled to do *againſt them*, is known unto *God only*, on whom we *deſire to wait* for a *comfortable Iſſue* of *theſe our Troubles*. But until they have *ſpent* all the *plunder* that is taken, it is no doubt, but they will ſeem *averſe from having peace*; As others to the *Weſtward* did, whoſe *hearts were hardned againſt all proffers* of that nature, till they were *deſtroyed*; Poſſibly ſome Remnants of them that eſcaped in thoſe other parts, are *got hither* amongſt theſe, and do *animate them* all they can in

Hostility against us, till they make these as *miserable* as *themselves*, and so forced at the last to *fly their Country*. Many have been the *Troubles* we have met withal from these our *Barbarous Neighbours* round about us, but *God we trust will deliver us out of them all*, as he hath promised to do for *the Righteous*, who may in the *darkest night* of *Affliction* say, *Light is sown for them*, which shall *spring up* in the *appointed Time* thereof.

No farther News came to hand concerning the *English Prisoners* at *Kennibeck*, after the Return of *Captain Moor* from *Penobscot*, till the *fifth of January*. When one *Francis Card* with another young man formerly an Inhabitant of some place about *Kennibeck*, or of *Arowsick*, (but then *a Prisoner* with the Indians,) made an escape from the Indians, and so got over *Casco Bay*, and then to *Black point*, from thence he was conveighed to *Pascataqua* soon after, and then to *Boston*.

The manner of *his escape*, as he reports was this: He was imployed by the Indians to *thresh Corn* at a *Barn* a little lower in *the River* than the place where the Indians *commonly kept*, being trusted *alone*, to *go* and *come* of *himself*, because there was no *suspition* of any coming to carry him away, or *seeming possibility* to get away without being *discovered*, he found means to plot with another *young man*, who was sent to *look horses*; whose *flesh* it seems is by those *wild Salvages*, preferred before the *best Beef*, so as having their *choice of both*, they took what they *liked best*; And this being the Imployment of the *young man*, he had the fitter opportunity when he was in *the woods* to make any *Contrivance* to get away. Thus being resolved upon their designe, they *provided necessaries accordingly*, and sent such a Messenger home to *their Masters*, as might occasion them not to expect them very soon that night; Thus resolved, they *marched away*, as soon as ever they perceived the *Coast was clear*; And having provided a *Canoo* accordingly fit for the designe, by the help of it they got over the waters, by which they were to pass, which were *not frozen*; And in the *night time* turned into a *Swamp*, where they might *make a fire* to keep them from *starving with the Cold*, without being discerned; So as within *two or three days* they recovered the *Fort*, and *Garrison* at *black point*, from whence they were soon conveighed to *Boston*.

This *Francis Card* made this Relation of matters when he came to *Boston*, *viz*. that the Prisoners which he left behind *were well*, and not *much misused*, only put to do the *Servile work* about the Indians: *who must it needs be with Christians*, when put not only *to sojourne*, but to serve in those *Tents of Kedar*. Such of *the women* as were *gifted* at

knitting

knitting and *Sewing*, were improved to make *ſtockings and garments* for their *Peteroons*: So as it ſeems the *Ware houſe* at *Arowſick* furniſhed them with *Cloth*, *Stuff*, *and Linnen*, and the Inhabitants ſerved for *Artificers* to cut it out, and make it up.

He reported alſo that the Indians *ſpake nothing of any* Peace; but rather being *heightned* with their *late and great Succeſſes*, were *contriving* how to *get poſſeſſion* of the *other places* in the hands of the Engliſh, on that ſide of the *Country*, which *God forbid ſhould ever come to paſs*; but finding ſo *eaſy work* of their *former Exploits*, they hope they ſhall *accompliſh their purpoſes* with the *like facility* in all other places where they come.

It ſeems *Squando* is their *chief Leader*, that *Enthuſiaſtical*, or rather *Diabolical Miſcreant*; who yet hath put on a *garbe of Religion*, and orders his people to do the like; performing *Religious worſhip* amongſt the Indians *in his way*, yet is ſuppoſed to have very *familiar Converſe with the Devil*, that appears to him as *an Angel of Light* in ſome *ſhape* or other very frequently. This *Fancis Card* alſo affirmeth, that there is nothing ſo great a *number of the Indians* as is here reported, for he ſaith, when they were going out upon *ſome deſigne*, while he was in their hands, he had not opportunity to *count them all*, and could find but *ninety eight* of them, that were men: Neither could he diſcern that there were any of the *Weſtern Indians*, unleſs *Simon and Andrew*, that formerly eſcaped out of *Dover Priſon*: Although it was before apprehended there were *multitudes of them flocked thither*.

Francis Card his Declaration of their Beginning, Auguſt the Fourteenth.

The Indians came to *Richard Hammonds*, and there killed *Richard Hammond*, *Samuel Smith*, *Joſhuah Grant*, there parting *their Company*, *Eleven men* came up *Kennibeck River* to my houſe, and there *took me*, *and my Family*. Therefore the reſt of their Company went to *Arowſick*, and there took the *Garriſon*: about a *Fortnight after* came down *Kennibeck River*, and ſo went down to *Damaris Cove*, and there *burnt houſes*, and *killed Cattle*, there coming back *parted their Company*, one party went to *Iewels Iſland*, and the other party went to *Saga-de-Hock*, being in number *Eighty one*; Thoſe that went to *Saga de-Hock* took a *Shallop*, from thence came to *Kennibeck River*, and then went to *killing* and *deſtroying* of *Cattel* and *houſing*, for they had Intelligence of a *Ketch* and a *Shallop* at *Damaris Cove*, and going there they *took the Shallop*, and *killed two men*, being in number about *Eighty*; The next day made

up

up their *Forces*, went out to *Black point*, being about *one hundred fighting men*, and are now in *two Forts about sixty at a place*, with *six or eight Wigwams* between the *two Forts*.

Now the beſt place to *land men* is in *Caſco Bay*, and in *Kennibeck River*, the one place being *eight miles*, the other about *fourteen miles* from the *Fort* where I was kept: And if the *Army* do not go now with ſpeed, they will be gone *forty miles* farther up in the Country; at the firſt taking of me they carryed me up to *Tacvnet*, and the men coming down they brought me and two men more down for fear of our killing their women and Children, for they kept their *Women* and *Children* at *Taconet* all the *Summer*. As ſoon as the *warm weather* doth ſet in, they do intend to go away to *Taconet*, and there to build *two Forts*, for there is their *fiſhing places*, and *planting ground*. *Squando* doth inform them that God doth ſpeak to him, and doth tell him that God hath left *our Nation* to them to *deſtroy*, and the Indians do take it for a Truth all that he doth tell them; becauſe they have met with *no Affront*. Now *Mugg the Rogue*, he being come again to the *Fort*, he doth *make his Brags* and *laughs at the Engliſh*, and ſaith that he hath found the way to burn *Boſton*, and doth make *Laughter* at your *kinde Entertainment*, they make their brags now they do intend to *take Veſſels*, and ſo to go to all the *fiſhing Iſlands*; and ſo to drive all the Country before them, ſo reckoning to be a great Number in the ſpring: there is a great many Indians at *Cannada* that have not been out this Summer, both of *Kennibeck* and *Damaraſcoggin*, therefore a great many of theſe Indians at *Kennibeck* do intend to go to *Canada* in the Spring to them. And they do give Gifts both of *Captives*, and of Goods to the *Eaſtern Indians*, to have them to go out with them; but as yet I do not know what they will do. For *Madockawando* and *Squando* are of ſeveral Judgments, and ſo have parted, and *Madockawando* doth pretend love to the Engliſh, they do uſe our Engliſh Captives as civilly as we can expect by ſuch a People. That this is Truth is declared by me *Francis Card*, *Jan. the* 22. 1676.

By the Report which he brings it doth not appear ſo difficult a matter to make an Attempt to recover the place, and deſtroy them that hold it, as was before apprehended: Inſomuch, as that deſigne, that was under debate before the *GOVERNOUR and COUNCIL* a little before, and was let fall for the preſent, as a matter not *Feaſible*, hath ſince been ſet a foot with a freſh Reſolution. And another thing alſo occurred about the ſame time, which put new Life into the ſaid deſigne, *viz.* an apprehenſion that there were ſeveral of the *Narrhaganſets*

ganſets ſcattered about in theſe woods near *Paſcataqua*, who it was feared might joyne with thoſe of *Kennibeck* in the Spring, and ſo come down upon the Engliſh Plantations, and ſpoyle them all that are thereabouts. For ſoon after *Francis Card* coming to *Boſton*, ſome of *Major Walderns* Indians at *Quechecho*, as they were hunting in the woods chanced to meet with three ſtrange Indians, the which had Guns, at leaſt *two of them*; but thoſe of *Quechecho* were without. The other Indians began *to inſinuate* into them, to ſee if they could make way for their acceptance with the *Engliſh*: Thoſe Indians that this motion was made unto, in a moſt *perfidious manner* gave them encouragement in the buſineſs; And appointed a place where to meet them the *next day*, ſaying, they would not have them now *go home* with them to *their Wigwams*, leaſt their *Women* and *Children* ſhould be frighted with the ſight of their Guns; All which was ſpoken upon a Treacherous Account, by that means to *betray them*, for they had neither *Women nor Children* at their *wigwams*; but not having Guns themſelves, as the other had, they durſt not then *ſeize upon them*: The *next day* therefore according to Appointment, their gueſts expecting *a Treaty*, and a *Friendly Complyance*, (yet coming apart, as was *ordered* the day before to be *the more eaſily ſurpriſed*) arrived at *the place Appointed*; And there preſently the firſt being thus *Treacherouſly brought into the ſnare* was *diſpatched out of hand*. The like was alſo done to the ſecond; The *third* was not at ſuch a diſtance, but he either diſcerned or ſuſpected, what became of his Fellows, and therefore made the more *haſte to eſcape*: but his deceitful Friends were too quick for him, who *ſhot him down* before he could get out of *their reach*: So as they took him *alive*, as is ſaid; but he could not live *much longer* by Reaſon of his wounds: Theſe *Quechecho* Indians cut off the Scalps of their poor Countrymen, (which is their uſual manner, when it is too far to carry the heads) which being brought to *Major* Walderns Indians, they were preſently diſcerned to be *Narrhaganſets* by the cut of their *hair*. This inſtauce is a ſufficient Evidence of the Subtilty, guile, and Falſhood natural to all theſe Indians; and may ſatisfie any Rational perſon, what little truſt there is to be put in their words, promiſes, or Engagements, though never ſo ſolemnly made, farther then they that make them ſee Advantage in the keeping and performing. Subtilety, malice, and Revenge, ſeems to be as inſeparable from them, as if it were part of their *Eſſence*.

What ever hopes may be of their Converſion to *Chriſtianity* in after Time, there is but little appearance of any *Truth* in their hearts at preſent, where ſo much of the contrary is ſo ordinarily breathed out of their mouths.

Theſe

These were the manner of the Gentiles in former times, while they remained *Children of Disobedience*, until they were *renewed* after another *Image*: Nor are these *uncapable Subjects for Divine grace* to *work upon*, yet are there some *natural vices* proper to *every Nation* in the *world*, as *Paul* speaks of the Grecians, from the *Testimony* of one of their own *Poets*.

But to Return; these things *so concurring*, and several Gentlemen from about *Pascataqua* repayring to *Boston*, so represented the states of things *Eastward* before the *GOVERNOUR* and *COUNCIL*, as that it was apprehended not only *necessary*, but *Feasible* also to *suppress* the foresaid Indians in those parts: Whereupon it was *forthwith concluded* that an Expedition should be made against them; To which end *two hundred Souldiers*, whereof *about sixty* were of the *Natick Indians*, that have given *good proof* of their *Valour*, and *Faithfulness* to the English; All which were immediately *dispatched* away, the *first week in February* by *water*, under the *Conduct* of *Major* Waldern as Commander in chief; A person well approvrd for his *Activity*, as well as *Fidility* and *Courage* in concernments of that nature: They had to Encounter with *Rough* and *contrary winds*, and much *cold weather* the first *week* after their setting forth; But having so much Experience of the favour aud goodness of the *Almighty*, who is wont always to be present with his Servants in like Cases, though he hath often for a time *deferred* for the *tryal of their Faith*, and exercise of their *patience*; yet useth not to *fail his people*, that put their trust in him, and diligently seek his face; A solemn time being appointed for that end; To the which we expect a comfortable Answer: we that have sent forth our Friends on the publick Service, being thus engaged to follow them with Prayers, at the present in silence wait upon *the Lord of Hosts* to give a blessing to the designe; Hoping our Friends in this necessary, though difficult Service, thus called forth, have gone out with the like Encouragement, and Resolution, that sometimes *Joab* did; *Let us be of good Courage, and play the men for our people, and for the Cause of our God*; *And let the Lord do that which seemeth him good.*

Upon the *Eleventh of February* two *Indian Squaws*, that had run away from *Major* Walderns in the beginning of *winter*, out of *discontent*, because *the husband* of one of them, and some of the Relations of the other were sent away, came back again with more *wit*, than they carryed with them, though with less *flesh upon their backs*: for having *wandred* up towards *Pigwachet*, till they were *almost starved* there, they say, some Indians *were seen* by them, pretending they were *going to the head*

of

of *Conecticut River*, with *Hostile Intents* against the English; but they going away as they did, little heed is given to *the Storyes* they tell upon their *Return*.

February the nineteenth following, *John Abbot*, the *Master* of Mr. *Fryers Ketch* taken *October the Twelfth*, before at *Black Point*, came in to the *Isle of Shoales*, having made a *desperate Adventure* to escape; he gave a more probable Account of things in those parts.

He saith, they were first carryed to *Shipscot River*, where the Vessel in which they were taken, was *moored* for all the *Winter*: In which time, the Indians having spent all *their Amunition*, and most of their *provision*, counted it *high time* now to be *looking out* for more: to which end, they caused the *said Abbot* to fit up the *Vessel*, (being *a pinnace* of about *thirty Tun*) as well as he could, with such *assistance* as they could afford him; and *ten of them* shipped themselves in the same, intending for *Penobscot*; from thence to Sayl up that River, as far as they coud, and then leaving *their Vessel* to proceed on with their *Canooes*, as high up *the River* as *the stream* would permit, and so to pass on to *Cannada* to buy powder of the *French* there; It being at this time *two and thirty Shillings a pound* amongst the Indians at *Kennibeck*. But as providence ordered it, after *these* Marriners were *launched into the deep*, a *small storm* with a *contrary wind* began to arise; of which the *English* Skipper found wayes in *his steering* to make the danger seem more than *really it was*, insomuch that they resolved to put in at *Cape-bona-waggon*, *three Leagues* to the *Eastward* of *Shipscot*, where *eight* of them went a *shore*, leaving *two Indians* aboard with the *English* Skipper. After he had got *so well rid* of them, he contrived how to get *shut of the other* also: Therefore he perswaded them, that *the Vessel* would not *ride safely* in *that place*, so as he prevailed with them to let him go to *another Harbour*, called *Damaris Cove*, *two* or *three Leagues* more *Eastward*: In the way as he Sayled, he so ordered *his steering*, that sometimes *the waves* were ready to *overtake the Vessel*, which put his two Indians into a fright, so as they made all *the haste* they could to *get a shore*, as soon as ever they came within the *Harbour*, urging him to *go along* with them; but he pretended a *necessary Excuse* to stay behind to look after *the Vessel* but with intent, as soon as ever he should *see them a shore*, to *hoyse Sayl* for some *English Harbour*, having no body aboard with him, but a *small English Child* about *three years old*: It seems the Indians had *a Child* or *two* of their own *dead* in the Vessel, who dying after they began their *Voyage*, they were the *forwarder to go a shore* with them, *for buryal*: The said *Abbot* now perceiving he had obtained *his purpose*; (for he oft resolved

on this Project before) first *tallowing the Maſt* with a *piece of fat* Pork left by the Indians, as high as he *could reach*; that he with his *own hands* might the more eaſily *hoyſe the Sayl*, ſo chooſing rather to *caſt himſelf* upon the *Providence of God* in the *waters*, than to *truſt himſelf* any longer with *perfidious Salvages* on the *dry Land*; he *came ſafe* to *Iſle of Shoales* before the Evening of the *next day*, *February the nineteenth*.

Within a few days after *John Abbot* aforeſaid, *made his eſcape* in the Veſſel; There came an expreſs from *Major Waldern that commander in chief* over our *Forces* ſent to *Kennibeck* to ſubdue the Indians in thoſe parts, & deliver the *Engliſh Captives* that have been detained in their hands, ſince *Auguſt laſt*, which giveth *this account* of their proceeding.

February the ſeventeenth, this morning the wind *North Eaſt*, ſoon after *South*, and *South Weſt*, we ſat Sayl with *our Veſſels* from *Black point*, for *Portland*, but on the *Eaſt-ſide of Cape Elizabeth*, we eſpyed *John Pain*, (who was ſent out a Scout) who brought word *the way was clear* of *Ice*, and *Indians* whereupon we ſteared for Mary *point* at the head of *Caſco Bay*, and got there this night, but too late to get to the *Fort* before morning.

February the eighteenth, we ſent this morning our Scouts out by Land, who returning about *eight of the Clock* brought word they eſpyed the *Tracts of three Indians*, and found a *Birch Canoo* at *Muckquet* about *four miles* off, by which we feared we were diſcovered, the Companyes about *four a Clock* were drawn forth, and juſt beginning their march, when we eſpyed *five Canoos* of the Enemy about *half amile* off, they landed over againſt us on an *Iſland*, and *holloed* to us, whereby we perceived they deſired a *Treaty*, hoping to gain the *Captives*; we ſent *John Pain* to them, they promiſed him to bring the *Captives* by morning, and deſired peace: After this *John Pain* was ſent again, and ſtayed among the Indians in the room of *Simon*, who came to the *Major*, he was queſtioned, and Anſwered as followeth.

Queſt. *How came you to know we were here?*

Anſw. We continually keep out our Scouts, & *yeſterday* our Indians left a *Canoo* at *Muckquitt* which this day we miſſed, and perceived the *Engliſh* had taken it, and *our men* that left the *Canoo*, eſpyed you a great way off at *Portland*.

Queſt. *Why did you break your covenant with me.*

Anſw. Blind Will ſtirred us up to the *War* here, and ſaid, he would kill you at *Quechecho*; *Simon* having ſaid this, askt the *Major* what his buſineſs was here? to whom it was Anſwered, we came to fetch off the *Captives* and make War as we ſee good, *Simon* alſo told us that the

Captives

Captives were all well, that we ſhould have them by morning, that *Squando* was there, and would give the *Captives* to *Major Waldern*: that they intended peace, and had ſent to *Boſton* before now, but that *Mugg* told them the *Engliſh* would be here ſhortly.

The *Major* upon this diſmiſſed *Simon*, and ſent for *Squando*, to which *Squando* Anſwered, he would meet him *half way* if he would come alone in a *Birch Canoo*. To this the Major Anſwered, he would not venture himſelf in your *Leakie Canoo*, and that if he had no more to ſay, the *Treaty* was ended: To this *Squando* Anſweted, he would be with us again at *Ten a Clock*, and bring the *Captives*.

On the *Nineteenth*, Wind *North Eaſt*, the weather thick, about Noon we diſcovered a party of Indians in *fourteen Canoos* about *three mile* above us in the *Bay*: they landed on a *point of Land* and burnt one Engliſh *houſe*, and ſhouted to ſome of our men that were Scouts, challenging them to fight: Immediately on the Return of our Scouts we marched againſt them as ſecretly as we could: upon ſight of us they fled; but *Captain Froſt* came upon them with his *whole body* before they were half out of *Gun ſhot*: in this Skirmiſh, we judged we killed and wounded ſeveral of them without any damage, yet ſome of their *Bullets* hit ſome of our men. For the *Captives ſake* immediately after this, we hung out *a Flag of Truce*, and the Enemy did the like: *John Pain* was ſent to them to demand the Reaſon why they *fired the houſe*, and *brake their promiſe*,

Simon met him half way, and Anſwered, the houſe was *fired Accidentally* without Order from *Squando*: that they had ſent for the *Captives* who were a great way off, and the *foul weather* hind red their coming: He queſtioned *John Pain* alſo why he ſought them while we were in *Treaty*.

Pain Anſwered they brake it themſelves in not performing their promiſe, challenging our Souldiers to fight, this latter *Simon* denyed, and Anſwered the other as before: *Simon* told him they had *two men wounded*, and expected *ſatisfaction*, but alſo promiſed the Captives the *next day*, and ſo left us.

On the *twentieth*, the wind *North Eaſt*, and Snow, it was reſolved to Sayl for *Kennebeck* the firſt *fair wind*, whether we had immediately gone, upon our knowledge, that we were diſcovered by the Enemy, but that the winde and weather hindred us hitherto.

February the twenty firſt, this morning the wind *North Weſt*, we ſet Sayl for *Kennibeck*, and arrived at the *Harbours mouth* at *four a Clock*: About Sun ſet we ſet Sayl *up the River*, and got to the lower end of

Twenty ſecond, we ſet Sayl this morning, but could not get to the *head of the River* for *Ice*, whereupon we landed *our Souldiers* about *two a Clock*, about *twelve miles* off *Aboundeſſit Fort*, and immediately began our march, about *eight a Clock at night* came to the *Fort*, we found no Indians, there we *took up our Quarters* this night.

Twenty third we ſent out Scouts to diſcover the *march of the Enemy*, but found ſo many *Traſts* every way, that we knew not what way to follow them; At a *Council of War* it was reſolved that *Major Waldern* ſhould Sayl for *Penobſcot*, with *two of the Ketches*, and part of the Souldiers to ſeek after the *Captives*, and fight the Enemy if he had opportunity: the reſt to build a *Garriſon*. In the abſence of *our Forces*, the Veſſels eſpyed ſeveral Fires *below the River*, and one Engliſh *houſe* was *burnt*, about Sun ſet, the Souldiers returned to the Veſſels.

Twenty fourth this morning the *Major* with two Boats and a *Shallop* went two ſpy out a place to ſettle a Garriſon, and found one againſt the lower end of *Arowſick Iſland*, and the Veſſels are brought to it.

Twenty fifth, We reſted here *this Sabboth*.

John Bakers houſe oppoſite to the lower end of *Arowſick*, being judged the *moſt convenient place* for their purpoſe, as well for the convenience *of water* for the Souldiers, as of a *Cove* wherein Ships might *Ride*, within Command thereof, *their Veſſels* therefore were immediately *Anchored there*, where they reſted on the *Lords day*, *February the twenty fifth*.

The next day according to the *Advice* of the *Commanders*, *Major Waldern* embarqued *ſixty men* in *two Veſſels*, with which he ſet Sayl immediately for *Penobſcot*, leaving the reſt to be imployed in making preparation for *ſetling a Garriſon* in the ſaid place.

In their way, off from *Gy-obſcot point*, they eſpyed *two Indians* in a *Canoo*, that *waved their Caps*, as if they *deſired ſpeech* with them. *John Pain* and *Wat. Ghendal* were preſently ſent; they gave them *Intelligence* that many Indians were at *Pemmaquid* with *Engliſh Captives*, upon which they *bent their courſe* thither, where *arriving* they *Anchored* at *four a Clock*, the ſame day; ſoon after *two Indians* hollowed to them from Mr. *Gardners Fort*. *John Pain* was ſent *a ſhore* to enquire who they were, and what was *become of the Captives*: Sundry ſorts of Indians were found upon *the place*, with ſeveral *Sagamores*, the chief of whom, was *Mattahando*, who told them he was glad to *ſee Engliſh men* there, and that he *deſired peace*, and promiſed to deliver ſuch *Captives* as were at *Penobſcot*, then next morning; adding alſo, that he deſired to ſpeak with *Captain Davis*. After *John Pain* returned to the

Major

Major, he was sent back with the said *Davis*, and staid a shore, till *three Sagamores* went a board, and signified as much to *Major Waldern*, as they had said before to *John Pain*. While they were in discourse, an *English Captive* was espyed in a *Canoo* with his *Pateroon*, with whom they *desired to speak*, but it was not granted at that time, he being carryed farther up the River out of sight.

Soon after *the Major* went a shore with *six men*, yet carrying *no Armes* with them. He found their words *smoother than Oyl*, yet were there *drawn Swords in their hearts*, of which some of their actions, gave no *small ground of Suspition*: for they deferred all till the *next morning*; nor were they willing to let the man that was *espyed before* in the *Canoo* come aboard to see his Friends without leaving *an Hostage* in his *room*, of which *the Major* was very glad, that he might have an opportunity of a little discourse with one whom they *might trust*. When they returned from the shore, *a sign* was promised to be given for *the Appearance* of the Indians by the firing of *three Guns*. The next morning, *February the twenty seventh, the Major* with the same number as before, went to *Treat with them*: They with *John Pain* having first *hollowed* to them; upon their coming a shore their persons were *searched* on *both sides*, and *all Armes* laid *aside*. The whole Forenoon was spent in a *Treaty*, whereat they seemed *much to rejoyce* in *expectation of a Peace* with the English; yet when *Major Waldern* desired a *present delivery* of the *Captives*, with *Assistance of men* and *Canoos* to fight the *Monoscoggin Indians*, Enemies to them both, it was denyed, though they could not have had a fitter *Testimony of their Fidelity*.

They allegaed that the *Captives* were given them by *Kennibeck Indians*, and they must have something for *keeping them all Winter*, and therefore were not willing to let them go without *Ransome*; And for their *Canoos*, they said they had them in *present Service*, being then bound for *Penobscot*. The price demanded, *viz*. *twelve Skins a person*, was yeilded to; upon which they presently delivered *William Chadburn*, *John Whinnick*, and *John Worwood*, which were all that they would own, or could be proved they had.

That part of the pay, which was to be *in Liquor*, was presently laid down, the rest was *promised* to be sent in the *Afternoon*. The Commanders *debated* what was *farther to be done*, one or two of the *old Sagamores*, (who were believed) *seemed sincere* about the Peace, professed that none of them had any hand in *the War*, but only some of their *young men*, whom they *could not Rule*: But several of the Company *affirming* they saw some of the said Indians *at Casco* engaged in *Hostility* against

againſt the Engliſh, it was reſolved not to enter into any *League of Peace* with them, but rather to *fight them*, or *ſurprize them* after they had diſpatched the buſineſs about *the Captives*.

This being determined, *the Major* with *five of his men* went a ſhore, with part of the *Ranſome*, the better to beget a *Confidence in them*; and then preſently to *return aboard*, and fit his men for *farther Service*; But if he had not wiſely provided againſt all *Exigencies* afore hand, he might have been *prevented* from ever *going aboard* more; for ſtepping aſide *a Rod or two* from the place, for better *Circumſpection*, he eſpyed the *point of a Lance* from under aboard, *hid there*, as were other Arms near by for a *Treacherous deſigne* that was in *their mindes*, ſoon after, upon the receiving the *reſt of the pay*, to have been put in Execution. Whereupon *Major Waldern* took up the *Lance*, and came towards them, *charging them with Falſhood and Treachery*, for *hiding weapons* juſt by, wherewith to *deſtroy them* as ſoon as they had *delivered the goods*: The Indians diſcovered their *guiltineſs* by their *Countenances*, ſome of them *making towards him*, thinking to get the ſaid *weapon* out of *his hands*; but he bid them *ſtand off*, *threatning to kill* every one that offered to *touch him*; And immediately *waved his Cap* over his head, (which was *the deſigne agreed upon*, for the Souldiers to come all a ſhore, in Caſe of need) upon which *Token* the Souldiers all haſted away. In the mean while the Engliſh that went a ſhore to wait upon *the Major*, were forced to *beſtir them*, both to *ſecure the goods* from being carryed away, and to *defend Major Waldern*: Some of the *Squaws* with others of the Enemy ran away, one of them catched up *a Bundle of Guns* that were hid near by, and ran away with them, *Captain Froſt* ſeized an Indian called *Megunnaway*, a *Notorious Rogue*, (that had been in Arms at *Connecticut* laſt *June*, at the *Falls*, and ſaw that *brave and Reſolute Captain Turner*, when he was ſlain about *green River*; and helped to kill *Thomas Bracket* at *Caſco*, *Auguſt laſt*.) And with the help of *Lieutenant Nutter*, according to the *Majors Order* carryed him aboard; while himſelf ſearching about farther found *three Guns* hid in a *Cow-houſe* juſt at hand, wherewith he armed the other *three men* that were with him: By this time ſome of the *Souldiers* were *got a ſhore*, and inſtantly according to their Majors *Command* purſued the Enemy towards their *Canoos*; In the *Chaſe*, ſeveral of the Enemies were ſlain, whoſe *bodies* they found at their Return; to the number of ſeven, amongſt whom was *Mattahando the Sagamore*, with an *old powaw*, to whom *the Devil* had *revealed*, as ſometimes he *did to Saul*, that on the *ſame day* he ſhould be *with him*: for he had a little before told the Indians, that within *two days*, the Engliſh

English would *come and kill them all*, which was at the very same time *verified upon himself*: The body of our men overtook them before they all recovered their *Canoos*, so as without doubt, divers others of them were *slain* likewise: for they *sunk a Canoo*, wherein were *five drowned* before their Eyes: and many others were not *able to paddle*: *four* they *took Prisoners*, whom they brought away with them. There being about *five and twenty* of the Indians present at *the Encounter*.

Much more *damage* might have *been done* by our men upon the Enemy, if they had *known the ready way* to their *Canoos*; but the Indians having prepared all things ready *for fight*, in Case, as well as *for fight*, the more easily made *their escape*. One of the Captives taken was *Madockawando's Sister*, who was *Entertained* very *Courteously* by the *Commander in chief*, and had been carryed forthwith to *her Brother*, in hope by her means to have gained the better Tearms for our remaining *English Captives*, but it was certainly known that he was gone from home upon an *Hunting Designe*, and not to return in two Months.

The English took much Plunder from the *Indians*, about a thousand weight of dried Beef, with other things, *Megunnaway* was shot to Death, the same day or the next, so as Justice is by degrees pursuing those *perfidious Villains*, and one after another they are brought under the Wheel of Destruction. *Simon*, that *Arch Traytor*; seems as is said, by his Consumptive looks, to have received the Sentence of Death, which may bring him into the same place or State with the rest.

Feb. 28*th.* they set Sayle for *Shipscot*, but the wind failing, they were put in at *Kennibeck*, from whence *Captain Fisk* with forty men were sent to the said place to seek after Plunder, where they found between thirty and forty *Bushels* of good wheat, which they brought away with them, several other things they lighted upon here and there, some of which were brought away; As one or two great Guns, and some *Anchors* from *Saga-de-Hock*, *Boards* from *Arowsick*, where they found an hundred thousand Foot, of which they brought home, enough for the lading of their Vessels, leaving the rest to be Transported in a more convenient Season.

While our Souldiers were upon *Arowsick*, *two* of the Enemy chancing to come upon the place, one of them presently received *his Reward*, the other received *his in part*, which yet is supposed to amount to the whole; The *Canoo* wherein he seemed to escape, being found the next day *all bloody*, and *split* asunder.

March the first, one of the Indian *Squaws* a Captive was sent to *Taconet Fort*, with a Message to the *Sagamores* to Treat for the rest of the Captives:

Captives: *Five days* were given her for her Return, which were *not expired*, when *Major Waldern*, with moſt of the Souldiers were called to *return home* towards *Boſton*, where they arrived *March the Eleventh*, 1676.77. having firſt put in at *Portſmouth*; Bringing along with them *the bones*, rather *the body* of *Captain Lake*, perſerved *entire and whole* and free from *putrefaction* by the coldneſs of the *long winter*, ſo as it was when found by the diſcretion of one that was near him when he was ſlain, eaſily diſcerned to be his, by ſuch as *had known him* before.

It is hoped by thoſe that returned, the Enemies are by this *Encounter* of the Engliſh ſo *ſcattered* and *broken*, that they will not be able to *rally again* ſuddenly, or make any *after attempt*, if the preſent Advantage be ſeriouſly purſued. And thus have our Enemies themſelves many of them *fallen into the pit, which they have been digging for others.*

This day alſo Letters were received from *Major Pinchon of Springfield*, but without mention of any *appearance* of Enemies in *that Quarter*, whereby we are encouraged to believe, that they have *ſtumbled and fallen down backward*, ſo as they ſhall *never riſe any more* to make farther diſturbance. That which *crowned* the preſent Service was the performing it without *loſs of blood*; They all returning home *in ſafety*, not any one being *miſſed*; *Let them accordingly remember to pay a ſuitable Tribute of Thankfulneſs to him*, under whoſe *Banner* they went forth, and returned in Safety; And ſay with *Moſes the Servant* of the Lord, *JEHOVAH NISSI.*

TO

TO this *Iſſue* were our *Troubles with the Indians* brought in the end of the *year*, 1676.

That which hath been already in that kind, may ſerve to give *an Account* of the *Murthers*, *Slaughters*, *Captivities* of ſeveral perſons of the Engliſh Inhabitants of *New-England*: together with the *burning and ſpoyling* of divers of their *Villages and houſes*, *ſpoyling of their Eſtates*, by thoſe their *perfidious and barbarous Enemies*. That which remains, is only to ſatisfie the *Inquiſitive Reader* about ſome other particulars, which have a *Relation* unto, or *dependance* upon the former: as to ſhew what may be the *principal* and *leading Cauſes*, *Civil* or *moral*, of thoſe *ſtrange ſucceſſes* of the Indians, in ſome of their *firſt Encounters* with the Engliſh there, what *preſages* or other *ominous Accidents* were obſerved aforehand, what *Aſſiſtance* they received from other *Forreign Nations*, *French*, or *Dutch*, what is ſince become of thoſe Indians that were the *Authors* of the foreſaid miſchiefs, what *progreſs Chriſtian Religion* hath already made, or is like further to make amongſt the reſt, all which may ſerve as an *Epilogue* to the *Tragical Hiſtory* foregoing.

It is no doubt but that (as ſometimes was ſaid of *the Diviſions of Reuben*) there have been, and are *great thoughts of heart* amongſt them that wiſh well to this poor Country; for the *Calamities* that of late have here fallen out, every one taking occaſion to put *that Conſtruction* upon what hath hapned, which *ſuits beſt* with his own underſtanding and humour. Poſſibly thoſe that live at a diſtance have made many *uncertain gueſſes* at things which have paſſed here. For thoſe that lived upon the place have very ſad *Apprehenſions* both concerning *the Riſe and Iſſue of them*. In a matter therefore of ſo much difficulty to give the beſt account we can of the things *under debate*; It cannot be denyed but that things ever ſince the planting of theſe *Colonies* of *New-England*, they have been *ſignally bleſſed* of God, and made to *flouriſh* above many other *Forreign Plantations*, both for the number of *Towns* and *Villages*, *Increaſe of Families*, *growth of Trade*, *flouriſhing of Religion*, probably therefore, this ſudden and unexpected *turn of Providence*, may occaſion many to think, that either there hath been ſome *notable Declenſion* from *former Principles* and *wayes*, or elſe the world hath been

much abuſed by former reports of our *proſperous proceedings* here. But it ſhould be obſerved that Arguments taken barely from *ſucceſs*, and the *Event* of things, like *Cypher's* ſtanding *alone* and not joyned with *others*, as ſome have ſaid, do not *increaſe* the number, when the *whole Summe* is to be made up, they will ſignifie what they were intended for; every thing is *beautiful in its Seaſon*, but in the mean time *ſad events* ſhould rather be improved to our *own Inſtruction* than the condemning of others: following the *dark Cloud of Providence* without the *fiery Pillar* of the *Scripture*, will lead into *uncertain paths*. This is not the *firſt time* that *Chriſtian People* have been expoſed to *many Outrages*, and *barbarous Calamities* from their *Pagan Neighbours*, to whom they have been many ways *Officious*. It is well known what hapned in the Neighbour Colony of *Virginia* on the *twenty ſecond of March*, 1622. when by a general *Conſpiracy* of the Indians *three hundred and fourty ſeven perſons* of the Engliſh Planters, were *barbarouſly maſſacred*; at that time when they had the greateſt hopes of Converting them to Chriſtianity; yet need not this any where diſcourage *charitable Endeavours* that way; for if it had not been for one *Converted Indian*, that revealed the *Plot*, in all likelihood *all the reſt* of the Engliſh there planted, had been in like manner *cut off* at the ſame time. The *Heathen* in *New-England* are ſcituate in the ſame *Climate*, therefore cannot be ſuppoſed to be much *differing* in their *manners and diſpoſition*. But beſides that we are *hemm'd in* on both ſides, and almoſt *round about*, with People of *Forreign Nations*, whoſe deſigne is neither Religion, nor yet planting *Colonyes* of *Civil people*, ſo much as preſent *Emolument* by *Commerce* and *Traffick* with the Indians, who notwithſtanding their *barbarous manner* of living, are yet furniſhed with ſome rich and uſeful Commodities, for the obtaining of which, thoſe that come amongſt them have not been unwilling to offer them in way of *Exchange*, ſuch Commodities, as the Indians moſt fancy and deſire, as *Powder* and *Amunition*, not conſidering how *deſtructive* the Trade thereof may prove to others, which hath made ſome wiſe men both *fear* and *foretell* the *dangerous Iſſue* of Trading thoſe things with the Indians here. It hath been ſaid the *Hollanders* uſed ſo to deal with the *Spaniards*, at ſuch times as they had their *fierceſt Wars* with them, ſaying, that if they did not, others would carry thoſe Commodities to their Enemies, which they thought they were as good to do themſelves, that ſo in Caſe of *bad Succeſs in the wars*, the gain of the *Barter* might help to make amends for the loſs of the *Battle*. The ſame Reaſon poſſibly put them upon the like practice in that part of this Country called the *New-Netherlands*: for which

they

they have pretty well *smarted themselves*, as now they have helped others to do by their Example. Some *prudent Gentlemen* that *governed in Virginia* at the first, were aware of this mischief; wherefore it was strictly forbidden them, upon *pain of death* to shew an Indian the *use of a Gun*; if the like Course had been continued here, it had scarce been possible according to the *Eye of Reason* that so much mischief could have been done us by our Indian Neighbours, at this time more than in former years. Their wills were as good heretofore, but when they had nothing but *Bows and Arrows* to trust unto, they were capable of no such mischief: But now by their *frequent Converse* and *Trading* with the *Dutch* and *French* on each side of us, they are as well skil'd in the use of *small Artillery* as many other Nations.

Their *young men* so much *delighting* therein, that upon point they minde *little else*, and are so proud of their Skill, that they thought they could *easily deal with*, if not *over-match* their *Masters* that first instructed them.

It is reported by an *Ancient Marriner* yet living in these parts, a person of *good Credit*, that above *twenty years since* being in the *Eastern parts* abont *Kennibeck*, he heard an old Indian tell this story, that when he was a *Youth*, there was a *Fort* built about *Saga-de-Hock* (the Ruines of which were then shown *this Relater*, supposed to be that called St. *Georges Fort* in honour of *Captain George Popham*, the *President* of the Company sent over *Anno*, 1607.) and possessed for some time by the English: But afterward upon some Quarrel that fell out betwixt the *Indians* and *them*, the English were some of them killed by the said *Indians*, and the rest all driven out of the *Fort*, where there was left much of their *Provision* and *Ammunition*; amongst which there was some *Barrels of powder*, but after they had opened them, not knowing what to do therewith, they left the *Barrels carelesly open*, and scattered the *powder* about, so as accidently it *took fire*, and blew up all that was within the *Fort*, *burnt* and *destroyed many* of the Indians, upon which they conceived their *God was Angry* with them for *doing hurt* to the English; It had been well these Indians never had had any *other acquaintance* with the nature of that *Commodity*, then by such *Experimental knowledge* of its *Force* and *power*. But Covetousness was and will be the *Root of all evil* in every Age of the *World*, of which this may be reckoned one, and not the least, that for the sake of a *little Trade*, *Civil* and *Christian Nations* have been induced to instruct *Barbarous* and *Salvage people*, before ever they had been reduced to *good order* or *Civil manners*, much less *Christianity*, in the use of our *Arms*,

and furnish them likewise with *Ammunition*, to improve that Skill to the *destruction of themselves*, and their Posterity. *Thomas Marton* was said to be the first that like *Epimetheus* opened this *Pandora's Box*, but he was not the *Vulcan*, that *forged* all their *Guns*, with other *weapons of war* they are found so well furnished withall.

The *Commissioners* of our *united Colonyes* have for a long time *carefully* and *seriously* endeavoured the preventing this *Inconveniency* in every of the *three Colonyes*, by strict prohibition of *Trading Amunition* with the Indians; Nor hath it been given way unto, till of late years, when by the *continual Sollicitation* of some of our own People (that possibly since have *paid dearly* for their forwardness therein) who alleadged the Example of the *French and Dutch*, and of some of our *own Nation* bordering upon us; The former restraint hath been taken off, and it is verily supposed that as to some of *our people*, that in the *last Insurrection* of the Indians amongst us, have felt both the *first* and *worst part* of their *Rage* and *Cruelty*; it was effected by the *Amunition* not long before purchased of themselves, which it may be was reserved for that very end and purpose. It is no small Aggravation of the misery befalling a place or person, when it is known to be brought about, by means of their own projecting; As sometimes was said to the Tyrant slain by a weapon of his own forging, *suo sibi hunc jugulo gladio.*

But if Enquiry be made into the *moral* and *procuring Causes*, whereby God hath been provoked to let loose *the Rage of the Heathen* thus against us; It is not hard to give an Answer. The *Sovereign Ruler of the world* need never *pick a Quarrel* with any sort of men (the best of his Servants at all times giving him too just occasion of Controversy with them) or be to seek of a ground why to bring a *Scourge* upon them, having also other holy ends why he contends with his People; of which he is not bound to render the world an account: It may be Reason enough to work in them a *Sympathy* for the Sufferings and Calamities of others; or to keep them from being *exalted above measure*; or to *humble and prove* them, that they should by their *long Peace* and *Prosperity* be ready to look upon themselves as *less sinners than others*, who have drunk deep of the *Cup of Trembling* before them: To prevent what Evil may, as well as reform what is already grown up amongst them. Standing waters are most apt to corrupt, Gods Dispensations of this nature in the world, are usually observed to be for *Correction* of the Vices, as well as for the *Tryal* of the Virtues found in his Servants. And what people or person is there upon the *face of the Earth*, who hath not Reason to lay their hand upon their mouths, and to abhor themselves

ſelves in *duſt and aſhes*, If the *Almighty* ſhould go about to enter *into Judgement* with them: No doubt but after ſo long a time of *Peace and Proſperity*, as hath been enjoyed, the like *Corruptions* have began to *bud forth*, as are uſual in ſuch a Caſe, as *Pride, Luxury, Inordinate Love of the World*, &c. Nor need He be inſtructed by men, what *Inſtruments* to make uſe of, in the *chaſtning* of his People: Why may not *God* as well as *Gideon* teach the men of *Succoth*, and of other places, by the *Briers and Thorns of the Wilderneſs*, if a more particular *Indagation* of the very *Original Offence* in this matter be expected.

All things conſidered, it may be feared to ſpring from ſome *Irregularities and miſcarriages* in our *Tranſactions* and *dealings* with the Indians themſelves, according to that known Rule, *In quo quis peccat in eo punitur*, yet muſt not this be underſtood, ſo as to *reflect upon* the People of the *United Colonyes* in the *Groſs*: Whoſe *ſupream Courts* in their ſeveral Juriſdictions, have endeavoured by the *ſharpeſt* and *ſevereſt Laws imaginable* to prevent any miſcarriage of ſuch a nature; But it hath ariſen only from ſuch places & perſons as *border* upon us *round about*, both *Southward* and *Eaſtward*, yet never were, nor would be, ſubject to the Laws of our *Juriſdiction*, nor had any *Reprover in the Gate*, or *Magiſtrate* to put the *Offenders* to *ſhame*. Such as make the Advantage they have in their hand the Rule for their *Conſciences* to act by; It is no wonder if they be ready to tranſgreſs the *Rules* both of *Sobriety* and *Righteouſneſs* in their dealings with men, as well as *Piety before God*. The things that the Indians are more *eager to Trade for*, being known to be either *ſtrong Liquor* or *Powder, and Amunition*: And many have been found *Indirectly* and *under hand* to gratifie their humour therein. The one hath proved always moſt *hurtful to themſelves*, the other feared (and juſtly as it hath over proved) *moſt deſtructive to our ſelves*. The more *ſober* and *prudent* of the Indians have always moſt *bitterly complained* of the Trading of *ſtrong Liquor* in our Engliſh, as well as in the *French and Dutch*, whoſe ordinary Cuſtome is firſt, to make them, or ſuffer them to make themſelves *drunk with Liquors*, and then to Trade with them, when they may eaſily be *cheated* both in what they *bring to Trade*, and in the *Liquor it ſelf*, being one half or more nothing but *Spring water*, which made one of the *Amonoſcoggin Indians* once complain that he had given an *hundred pound* for water drawn out of *Mr. P. his Well*. But this is not all the Evil that attends this wicked Trade of *ſtrong Liquor*, for when they are *drunk therewith*, they are ready to *fight* with their *Friends, Parents, Brethren*, &c. Yea, often have *murthered one another*. *Should I not be avenged on ſuch a people,*

or

or persons as these *saith the Lord?* Good old *Jacob* sometimes complained after the Villany of his *two Sons*, committed upon the *Schechemites*, that he was made to *stink in the sight of the People of the Land*, and that he should be *destroyed he and his house:* It is well if some of our *Borderers* have not had cause, not only to *fear*, but to *feel* the like Calamity in Reference to themselves, or some of theirs, thus what hath been gotten *over the back* of the *evil Fiend* is lost under his belly, according to the *Proverb.*

Besides all this, it hath been observed of many of these *scattering Plantations* in our Borders, that many were contented to live without, yea, desirous to shake off all *yoake of Government*, both *sacred* and *Civil*, and so *Transforming* themselves as much as well they could into the manners of the Indians they lived amongst, and are some of them therefore *most deservedly* (as to *Divine Justice*) left to be put under the *yoke and power* of the Indians themselves, and hence it is that in many parts, the *people void of Councel and common prudence* as well as *Courage*, have so *frightfully* deserted, or *Cowardly* delivered up several places of strength (though *Tenable enough* of themselves) into the hands of *Contemptible Enemies*; and so like *Ripe Figs* upon the first shaking of the *Tree*, have been ready to fall into the *mouth of the Eater*, as the *Prophet* speaks; As hath been too sadly verified in some of the *Southern*, and all the *Eastern parts.*

If it be here *Objected*, that the *same* or *like Calamities* have befallen many of those places and persons; where no such Evils could justly be complained of; It may as easily be Answered, and that from the observation of *Heathen themselves*, that in such publick Calamities, it is not easy to distinguish between the good and the bad, *sæpe Diespiter, iratus insceſto addidit integrum.* The Righteous many times have an equal share with the wicked. In these Cases saith *Solomon*, *all things come alike to all, no man knoweth love or hatred by all that is before him*: The Confused Events of worldly Affairs, are oft times so limited and restrained by the *holy hand* and *wise Providence* of God, that it is hard to find a difference, therefore concerning such places, which may be thought *not touched* with the *guilt* of the forementioned miscarriages, yet have by the *overruling hand of Providence* been notwithstanding made to suffer as deeply as others. I judge them not, yet hope, if they have ought for which to judge themselves before him that searcheth the hearts, they will take occasion hereby to humble themselves under the *mighty hand* of God, that in his *due time* they may be *Exalted* to their former *Tranquility and Peace.*

When

When Gods Judgments are *abroad in the Earth*, then ſhould the *Inhabitants of the World learn Righteouſneſs*. This Caution is judged the more neceſſary here to be added, in that it is the general obſervation of all indifferent and unconcerned perſons about the like Troubles; That they have ordinarily either begun, or have fallen heavieſt upon thoſe places and perſons that have had *moſt to do* in the Trading with Indians.

If any ſuch have as yet eſcaped their hands, to be ſure they have been *Threatned*, as if they had been before others, particularly lookt upon by them, as the *Object* of their *Revenge*, which makes ſome moderate perſons fear, that thoſe men have either themſelves offended in that kind, or elſe have connived at others under them, to carry on the *Traffick* with the Indians, by ſuch ways and means, that have been as well *offenſive* to God, as *injurious* to thoſe they have *Traded with*.

In the ſecond place, touching the various Succeſs we have met withal, in our ſeveral Encounters with the Indians, *Victory and Conqueſt* did for a long time ſeem to *ſtand Neuter*, and our condition and Warfare not much unlike the Conflict between *Iſrael and Amalek* in the Wilderneſs, nor can it be denyed but that our Enemies for a time had great Succeſs in their *Outrages*, Providence as it were ſeeming to offer them opportunities of doing us much miſchief, when we could find none of taking *juſt Revenge*: Things of that nature being ſtrangely either hid from the Eyes of *the Leaders*, or elſe the *weather* hath ſo fallen out as that it was *not poſſible* for our men to have *purſued them*: Although both the *Commanders* and *Souldiers*, ſent forth from all the *three Colonyes*, have *joyntly* and *ſeverally* purſued their Advantages, with *incredible hazard and diligence*, and with as *Invincible Courage* as ordinarily hath been found amongſt men. But as it is ſaid, the *Battle* is not always *to the ſtrong*, nor *the race to the ſwift*, but *Time and Chance* hath ſtrangely interpoſed to the prolonging of our miſeries, and the hardning and emboldning of our Enemies: Much of our diſappointments, and the loſs of many of our Forces engaging with them, muſt *be imputed* in a great meaſure to our mens unacquaintedneſs with the manner of *their fighting*, they doing moſt of their miſchiefs, either by *Ambuſhments*, ſudden ſurprizals, or overmatching ſome of our ſmall Companyes with greater numbers, having had many times *ſix or ſeven* to one: Poſſibly alſo many of our Overthrows have proceeded from our too much Confidence in our own weapons, *Courage* and *Martial Diſcipline* (Not *making Allowance* for the difference of Times, when they before engaged us, only with *Bows*

and

and Arrows, but now came to fight us with our *own weapons*) which hath proved no ſmall Advantage to our Enemies, & diſadvantage to our ſelves; or elſe to the *diſtance of our Towns* one from the other, ſo as ofttimes they were deſtroyed, or in danger thereof, before *any notice* was taken of their danger. If that be a *ſure Rule* whereby *Valour* is to be judged, *plus animi eſt inferentis periculum quam propulſantis, &c.* that there is more Courage ſeen in the *Aſſaylants*, than in the *Defendants*; a few of our men have frequently defended themſelves againſt *multitudes of them*, unleſs at ſuch times when providence ſeemed as it were to *trouble the Wheels* of our *Motions*, and fight againſt us, ſo as ordinarily our people uſed not to want Courage: For at *Lancaſter* where they ſeemed to have had the greateſt *Cauſe of boaſting* for their Succeſs in any *Aſſault* (although it were ſince known, that they had *five hundred* fighting men when they aſſaulted that ſmall Town of about *fifty Familyes*) yet were they able to ſurprize but *one garriſon houſe*, which neither was *fenced round*, nor were the *Defendants able* to ply their ſhot behind it, but ſo as the Enemy came to the *very walls*, and *Roof* on the *back ſide* with their *Fuel*, or elſe they had never been able to have diſpoſſeſſed the Inhabitants. The ſame Indians within awhile after, had not been able to have done the miſchief at *Groaton* which they did, had not a *Garriſon* been *unadviſedly* as it were delivered into their hands. In one word they were more beholding to their *perfidious Subtlety* and *Falſhood*, or to the Advantage of *Seaſon*, *place*, and *Number* than any *Valour* or *Courage* in all their Victoryes, ſhewing only a *Bellwine Rage* and *fierceneſs*, when they had an opportunity in their hands to deſtroy or do miſchief. For ſoon after when the time of *Vengeance was come*, and God ſeemed to *own the Cauſe of his people*, a *ſmall handful* of our men hath ſurprized *hundreds of theirs*, as hath been already declared in the *Narrative*. The Diſpenſations of the Almighty have been very *awful* towards us, for a long time, not ſeeming to *go forth without Armies*, nor helping us in *defending* our ſelves, or *defeating* of our Enemies, as if he had a purpoſe and deſigne to bring a *ſharp ſcourge* upon us, by that means to *humble us*, and *prove us*, and then (as we truſt) to *do us good in our latter end*: acting therein as wiſe *Parents* that after they have *corrected* their *children*, to *caſt the Rod* into the Fire. For our Enemies to the *Southward*, were in the beginning of theſe Troubles, poſſeſſed of many goodly *Havens*, many *rich and Fertile places*, as at *Mount-Hope*, and all along the *Narrhaganſit Country*. But are by this occaſion, (quarrelling with us without cauſe) themſelves in a manner all deſtroyed by the ſpecial hand of God, and

their

their *Posterity* quite *rooted out*, as were the *Pequots* before them, whereby it may be gathered as we hope, that God is making way to settle a better people in their rooms, and in their stead; when the whole frame of Gods Counsels, and purposes are put together, and accomplished by the Issues of his Providence, it will, no doubt, appear a *work* very *beautiful in its Season*, not only for the *glory of the Author* but for the *good and benefit* of his people, that are concerned therein.

Something of that nature hath been observed by some *Judicious persons* in *reference* to the present Calamities, of which something hath already been *published to the World*, concerning which I have nothing to add, only that some such things have been affirmed by credible persons, as *presages of* what hath lately *come to pass*. The *noyse of Guns* is affirmed by many, to have been *heard in the Ayre*, in sundry places not many years before; Concerning which the Judicious Reader may take what notice he pleaseth. Although I would not be *too forward* in *obtruding* uncertain Reports upon the belief of the far distant Reader, especially considering how much the world hath oft been abused with *false Coyne* of the like nature.

But for other *predictions* of the present Calamities, some *wise men* have thought it not unworthy to be *communicated to Posterity* what hath been observed amongst the Indians themselves, as if either *God himself* had left some *Impression* on the mtnds of some of them this way, or that by some *strange Instinct* or other, they had some Reason to forbode the Troubles now begun, although not yet ended, *sed dabit Deus his quoque finem*, in his own time.

There was within the compass of the last *seven years* now current a *Sagamore* about *Kiltary*, or the *North-East* side of *Pascataqua River*, called *Rouls*, or *Rolles*: who lying *very sick*, and *bedrid*, (being an *old man*) he expected some of the English, that had seazed upon his land, should have shewn him that Civility, as to have given him *a visit* in his *Aged Infirmityes*, and *sickness*; It matters not much, whether it was *totally neglected* or not; to be sure at the last, he sent for the *chief of the Town*, and desired a *favour of them*, *viz.* that though he might, as he said, *challenge all the Plantation for his own*, where they dwelt, that yet they would please *to sell* or *give him a small Tract of Land*, possibly *an hundred or two of Acres*, and withal desired it might *be Recorded* in the *Town Book*, as a *publick Act*, that so *his Children* which he left behind, might not be turned out, like *Vagabonds*, as destitute of an *habitation* amongst, or near the English, adding this as *the Reason*; That he knew

there would shortly *fall out a War* between the Indians and the English *all over* the Country, and that the Indians at the first *should prevail*, and do much mischief to the English, and *kill many of them*; But *after the third year*, or after *three years*, all the Indians which so did, should be *rooted out*, and *utterly destroyed*.

This Story is reported by *Major Waldern*, *Mr. Joshuah Moody*, *Captain Frost*, that live upon, or near the place. And one of the *three* forementioned persons was desired by the said *Sagamore* to make *a Record hereof*. *Valeat quantum valere potest aut debet*. Many Stories of like nature are confidently told, by such as have been more conversant with the Indians, which shewed that either *the Conspiracy* was a *long while* in *Contriving*, or else that some *Impression* was by a *Divine hand* made upon the *minds of some of them*.

For the actings of our *Neighbour Nations* round about us, whether they have had *actually any hand* in our Sufferings, either *instigating* of our Enemies, or secretly and underhand supplying them with necessaries wherewith to carry on their designe against us, without *whose assistance*, it is supposed they could hardly thus long have *held out*. It is no question but there are those in the world, that say *Aha, at the Calamities of our Sion*, and that like *Edom in Jerusalems day*, cry, *Raze it, Raze it, even to the Foundation thereof*: But for our near Neighbours, whether *Dutch* or *French*, their designe in their several Plantations, being *solely*, or *principally Trade*, and knowing that as *formerly they had*, so may they *still have* more benefit, and *Advantage* by our *Commerce* and *Traffick* than by our Ruine; it seems therefore not so *probable*, that they should *promote* or *designe* such a *wicked end* to themselves, much less that they should *joyn* with *Pagan Infidels* therein; more *Charity* we judge is due to them that *profess the Christian Name*, whatever *Errour* or *Superstition* their Religion or worship may be blinded with.

We may well conceive that *either of them* would not be much unwilling to part with any thing they have to sell for *Beaver*, nor would they very scrupulously enquire what the Indians do with their *powder*, provided they could get their *pay for it*, no more than the Cutler did, to know (as the tale goes) what the Cutpurse did with the knife he made him: But that purposely either of them have furnished our Enemies with means to do us mischief, we are not *forward to believe*.

As for the *French* at *Canada* they live at *too great* a distance to have much *Commerce* with our Enemies; And besides they are not themselves so secure of the Indians they deal with as to be *forward* to set them against others, lest thereby they come to learn the way to

fall

fall upon themselves. And besides it hath been affirmed by some of their own Nation, that not long since were there, and passed home this way, that they are more affraid of Attempts from hence, than we have cause to be from them.

Other Reports possibly have been taken up concerning us, as if we were *divided in our Counsels* and were too tenacious of our goods, and readier to keep them for our Enemies, than prudently to lay out what was necessary for our own defence and preservation: no question but many such Rumours as these have taken place, in the minds of some; But it is hoped that such as are *wise and serious*, will not give too much to *sinister Reports* till they are *rightly informed*. Greater *Unity of minde* in things of such a nature, hath seldome been found amongst men, that might all along have been observed here. If in any thing propounded for the better carrying on the war against the Indians, there hath been some difference of apprehension either from the *seeming Impossibility* and *Arduousness* of the *Attempt*, or difficulty of the Season; it never occasioned the *least Remora* of the *Action*, though in things of the greatest moment. Nor was there ever any difficulty in the *disbursing* what was *necessary* for *carrying on the Affairs* of the *War*, how chargeable soever and *Expensive* it hath been found. The scarcity of *Coyne* hath occasioned a *little Trouble* in some present *Exigent*, otherwise no Reason hath been given of any just complaint this way. But it being the usual *Lot of them* that are most *sorely afflicted of God*, to be most *deeply censured of* men, but we must expect to pass through *Evil* as well as *good Report*.

Possibly also some may here take notice of a very *distinguishing Providence* in these our late Troubles, in that *this Rod of affliction* hath seemed not to ly in an *equal proportion* upon *the body* of the people of *New-England*; which is no *new thing* to observe in Calamities of this nature; wherein it is very ordinary for those parts of a Country that lye *next bordering* upon *the Coast* of the common Enemy to be most *obnoxious to their Incursions*, and to be more frequently then others *harrassed thereby*; As hath been the Case of us here in these *parts of the Earth*, ever since the first planting thereof: The great numbers of *the Salvages* being *swept away* by some *unusual mortality* in all those places, where the body of the people that came over hither, *first seated themselves*; so as they were not so lyable to *their Injuryes* and *Insolencies*, as those were, who not long after were called to plant *the more remoter parts* of the Country, where were *greater numbers* of them left. Which was the occasion that the *said Colony* of *Connecticut* was then *sorely afflicted* with the *Pequods* at their first planting, when above *thirty* of them fell into the

 hands

hands of those *cruel miscreants*, they bordering next or near upon them, so as they had an opportunity to *assault them* in their *first Attempt* for planting that side of the Country, as sometimes *Amalek* did unto *Israel of old*. Further also it may be considered, that our *Brethren of Connecticut* have had no small part of this *present tryal*, in that they have been necessarily called to lend their assistance to the other *Colonyes*, which they have upon all occasions (to their honour be it spoken) most readily and freely done, not only by their *Articles of Consideration*, but as they were of necessity constrained in *common prudence* for their own safety to do, *jam proximus ardet Ucalegon*: he that will not help to quench the fire kindled in his Neighbours house, may justly fear to loose his own. It may truly be said also, that they have had their turn in like troubles at the *first hand*, their *Fleeces* being only watred with a like *bloody showre*, when the *ground all about* was *dry*; as now the contrary hath seemed to fall out. To be short we are all but one *Political body*, which ought to be *sensible of the Sorrows* that befell any particular members thereof: we all *came over into those parts* of *America*, with *one and the same end* and aim, *viz.* to enjoy the *liberty of the Gospel* in unity and peace, and to *advance the Kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ*, and being in our first setling, (by the wise Providence of God) farther disposed upon the *Sea Coasts* and *Rivers*, then was at first intended, so that we could not according to our desire communicate, in our *Government* and *Jurisdiction*, and being likewise where we live, encompassed with *people of several Nations*, which may *prove injurious*, as they have *formerly committed Insolencies*, and *Outrages* upon several of our Plantations, we were necessitated to *enter into a Consociation* amongst our selves for *mutual help* and *strength* in such concernments as have now *fallen out*, as is expressed in the Preface to the *Articles of Consideration*, agreed upon *May twenty ninth*, 1643.

In the last place, upon the consideration of these late *Uproars* amongst the Indians, some may be like to enquire, what is become of the *Conversion of the Natives*, so much *famed abroad*, and what *progress* the *Gospel hath made* amongst them, fearing (as well they may) it is like to be not a little *obstructed* hereby. It may probably be supposed, that the *pious endeavours* of some to preach the Gospel amongst several of the *Indian Natives*, hath given the first occasion of the Quarrel, as usually it hath done in the world. But that Opposition meeting with no *better Success* in the *Southern parts*, than the Ruine of those that made the *first Rebellion* against us, Satan hath lately *changed himself into an Angel of Light*, under that shape, making this his *last Attempt*, to the *Eastward*.

For

For the chief Leader of those Indians is a *Sagamore* called *Squando*, who hath (as is said by them that lately escaped from their hands) *familiar Converse with the Prince of Darkness*, though under the notion of a *good Deity*, putting him upon a *form of Religion*, and forbidding any *acts of Cruelty* and *murther* to be used against any they oppose, if they be *willing to yield*, and in that way promising *great Success to his Followers*; what the Issues of his proceedings will be, God only knows, and a little time may discover: But for those that before these troubles have *professedly owned the Christian Name*, many of them have given *notable proof* of their *sincerity*, by fighting against their, and our Enemies, and have been very successful in their Endeavours: as well these in the *upper parts of Cape-Cod*, commonly called *Cape Indians*, as those about *Natick*, and *Hassinamesit*, within the *Massachuset Jurisdiction*. It is not my purpose to enlarge much on this hand, that I might not raise the expectation of the world to greater matters than for the present do appear.

There are about *six Societies of Indians* in the Country, who have *professedly owned themselves Christians*; In every one of which it is supposed there are some that do make *a serious profession* of the Christian Religion. The Salvation of whose Souls is worth far more pains and cost than ever yet was laid out upon that work.

It is not a *small thing*, that in these *dark places* of the Earth, which in all Ages past, since mankind had any knowledge thereof, have been full of nothing but the *habitations of Cruelty*, the light of the Gospel should *take so much place*, as to cause any number of those *Vassals of Satan* where he so long hath had *his Throne*, professedly to *own* the Name of *the Lord Jesus Christ*. What Harvest is like to be of the *Body of them*, in the *present*, or in the *future time*, is not for any of us to speak: neither at what *hour*, or under what *Vial*, they shall be sent to *labour in Gods Vineyard*, lest we should thereby seem to *entrench upon the Sovereignty of the Almighty*, in whose hands are *the time and Season of grace*, as well as of *nature*. There are many Nations in the world, to this day, lying out from *the Kingdome of the Lord Jesus*, who were never yet known professedly to *own his Scepter*, although probably the Gospel hath at some time or other been *preached unto them*, or sent amongst them; It may be, only to be a *Testimony unto them*, and so to leave them *without excuse* another day.

Whether any farther end in Reference to these amongst our selves is aimed at, in the wise and *unsearchable Counsels* of the great God, is known only to himself, and may be thought more convenient for him that *writes*, and them that *read the present Narrative*, to leave to the

after

after determination of future Events, rather than to intrude our selves into that which is out of *our Line*, or beyond *our Sphere*. Thus much without offence may be affirmed, that in all the *habitable places of the Earth*, whereever God *hath*, or ever *had a People* calling upon his Name, never any notable work of Religion was known to take much place, where some kind of Civility, and *Culture of good manners*, had not gone before.

Addequod ingenuas, didicisse fideliter Artes:
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.

God in his *natural Providence*, hath taught the *Husbandman to plough the ground*, to *break* and *open the Clods* thereof, before he *casts in the Seed*: In the dispensation of his grace he usually observes the *same method*; to break up the *fallow grounds* of the *Nations of the world*, and not to *sow among Thorns*. When he that sits upon the *white horse*, with his *Bow and his Crown*, and went forth *conquering and to conquer*, it was amongst the *Civil*, and not amongst the *Barbarous and Salvage Nations of the World*: They that *preach the Gospel else* will have a *double Task*, (the least of which hath been found *hard enough* for the *best of men*, who is *sufficient for these things*? saith St. *Paul*) the *great Apostle* of the *Gentiles*, to convert men, First from *Salvage Paganism*, then to *Christianity*. It is commonly said that the *Turks* will not admit a *Jew* to become a *Mahometan*, till he hath first turned *Christian*; To be sure we rarely find any *Gentil Nation* turned *Christian* before they became *Humane*. Divine Providence hath improved the *Roman Sword* to make way for the *Scepter of the Gospel of Peace*. That Civility that is found amongst the *Natives* of this Country, hath hitherto been *carryed on* and obtained, only by the gentle means of *Courtesy*, *Familiarity*, and such like *civil behaviour*, which in other places was never yet attended with any *eminent success* that way. It seems some Religious Gentlemen in *Virginia*, had great hopes of the *Conversion of the Indians* to *Christianity*, a little before the *Massacre there*; The means principally used by them was *Familiarity* and *kindness*: One Mr. *Thorpe* well reputed for Religion, and in Command, one of the principal in *Virginia*, did so truly *affect the Conversion* of the Indians there, that whosoever under him did them the *least displeasure*, were punished *severely*. He thought nothing too dear for them: And to *content them* in all things, he caused many *English Mastives* to be killed, and would have taken a Course to have *sufficiently stored* the rest. He conferred often with their *great Sachem* about Religion, and made him *confess* that this *English* means

God

God was better than the Indians: This Gentleman out of his good meaning was so full of Confidence and void of Suspition, that he would never believe *any hurt* of them, till he *felt their cruel hands imbrued in his own blood*; they *barbarously murthering him* amongst the rest. Mr. *Stoughton* a serious and *judicious Minister* in *Virginia*, & *pious* also, for ought is here of his Life, at that time when all things were so prosperous there, & the Salvages were thought to be at the point of Conversion, *against the Opinions* of all others, both *Governours* and *Council*, wrote his mind to the *Council* and Company in *England* about this point in these words.

'For the Conversion of the Salvages, I wonder you use not the means: 'I confess you say well to have them *converted by fair means*; but they 'scorn to acknowledge it; As for the gifts bestowed on them, *they de-'vour them*, and so they would the *givers* if they could: Many have en-'deavoured by kindness to convert them, yet find nothing from them, 'but *derision* and *Ridiculous Answers*: We have sent *Boyes* among them 'to learn their Language, but they return worse than they went: But 'I am no States man, nor love I to meddle with any thing but my 'Books; But I can find no probability, by this Course to draw them 'to goodness: And I am perswaded if *Mars and Minerva* go hand 'in hand, they will effect more good in *an hour* than those *Verbal Mer-'curians* in their lives: Adding that there will be no hope of their Con-'version till their *Priests* (possibly he meant their *Powaws*) be removed 'from them. The natural *barbarousness* and *perfidiousness* of their disposition may in part *be gathered* by this Story.

When some of *Pocasses* Indians in *Plimouth Iurisdiction* had professed their Service to *Captain Church*; as they were in pursuit of the Indians our Enemies, one of the said Indians from the *top of an hill* discerned a Company of *Wigwams*, where those they went to seek, had taken up their Stations, he called to his *Captain*, and pointing to *one of the* outermost *Wigwams*, told him that was *his Fathers Wigwam*, and ask'd if he must now go and *kill his Father*; No saith *Captain Church*, do but shew me where he is and I will *deal with him*, do you fall upon some others: to which the said Indian only replyed in broken English; That *very good speak*; whereby their *natural perfidiousness* even to their *nearest Relations* may be observed, which makes their *Treachery* towards us their *Forreign Neighbours*, the less to be *wondred at*. And therefore till they be reduced to more *Civility*, some wise men are ready to fear Religion will not take much place amongst the body of them.

Likewise when *Philip* was kept in the Swamp at *Pocasset*, it is certainly affirmed that several of their *young Children* were *killed by themselves*,

selves, that they might not be *betrayed* by their *crying*, or be *hindred* with them in their *flight*, when they made their escape.

The generality of the Indians in *New-England* are in their *manners and natural disposition*, not much unlike those in *Virginia* living much in the *same Climate*; who have likewise made an *Insurrection*, much about the same time *this year*, as our Indians did with us: But God who is able to *graft* in again the *unbelieving Jews*, is able also of *these stones to raise up Children unto Abraham*: And if it be the *pleasure* of the *Sovereign Lord* of Heaven and Earth, to *impart* the Salvation of the Gospel to *any of these*, far be it from any of us to *repine at his grace*, or *neglect* any *due means* lying in our Capacity or reach to help forward that *blessed work*, who knows what *tendency* the present troubles may have to *such an End*. For though a great number that are *implacable and imbittered* against us in *their Spirits*, may be for the sake of our Religion found *hardned to their own destruction*, yet a *Remnant* may be *reserved*, and afterward *called forth*, by the power of the Gospel, to give *glory to the God of all the Earth*.

FINIS